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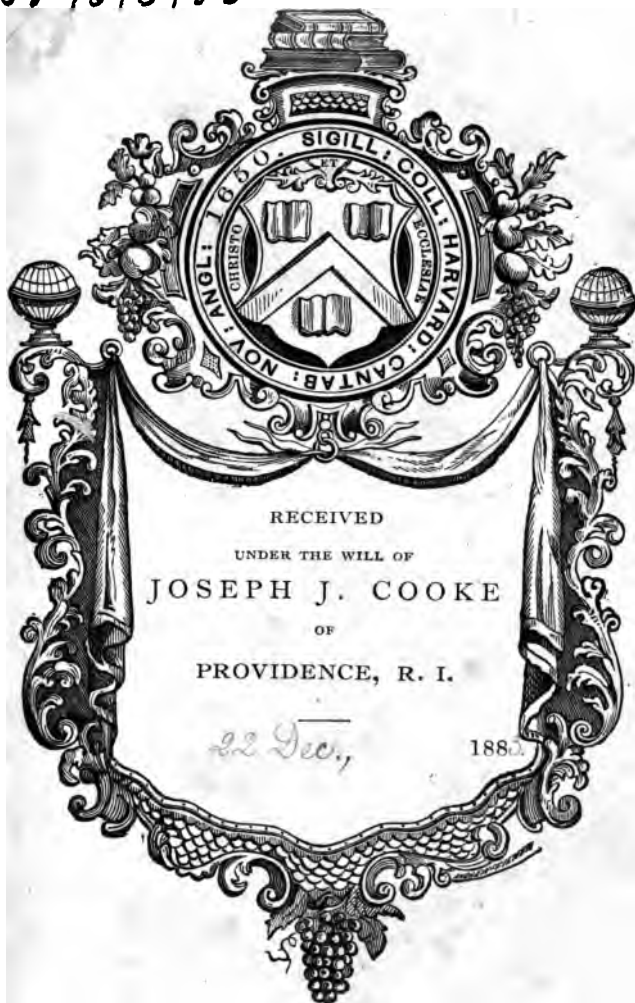
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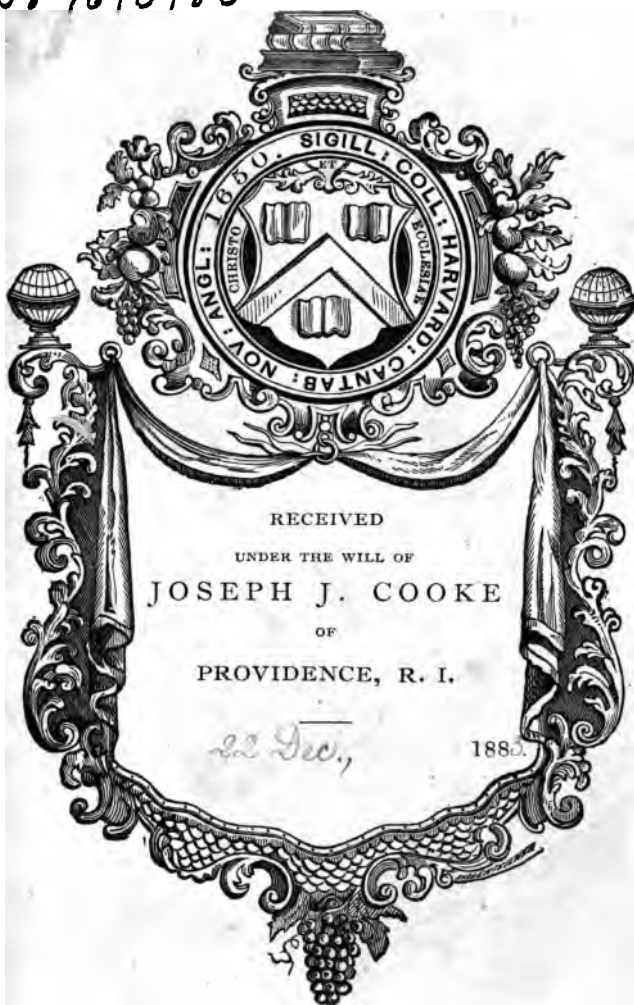
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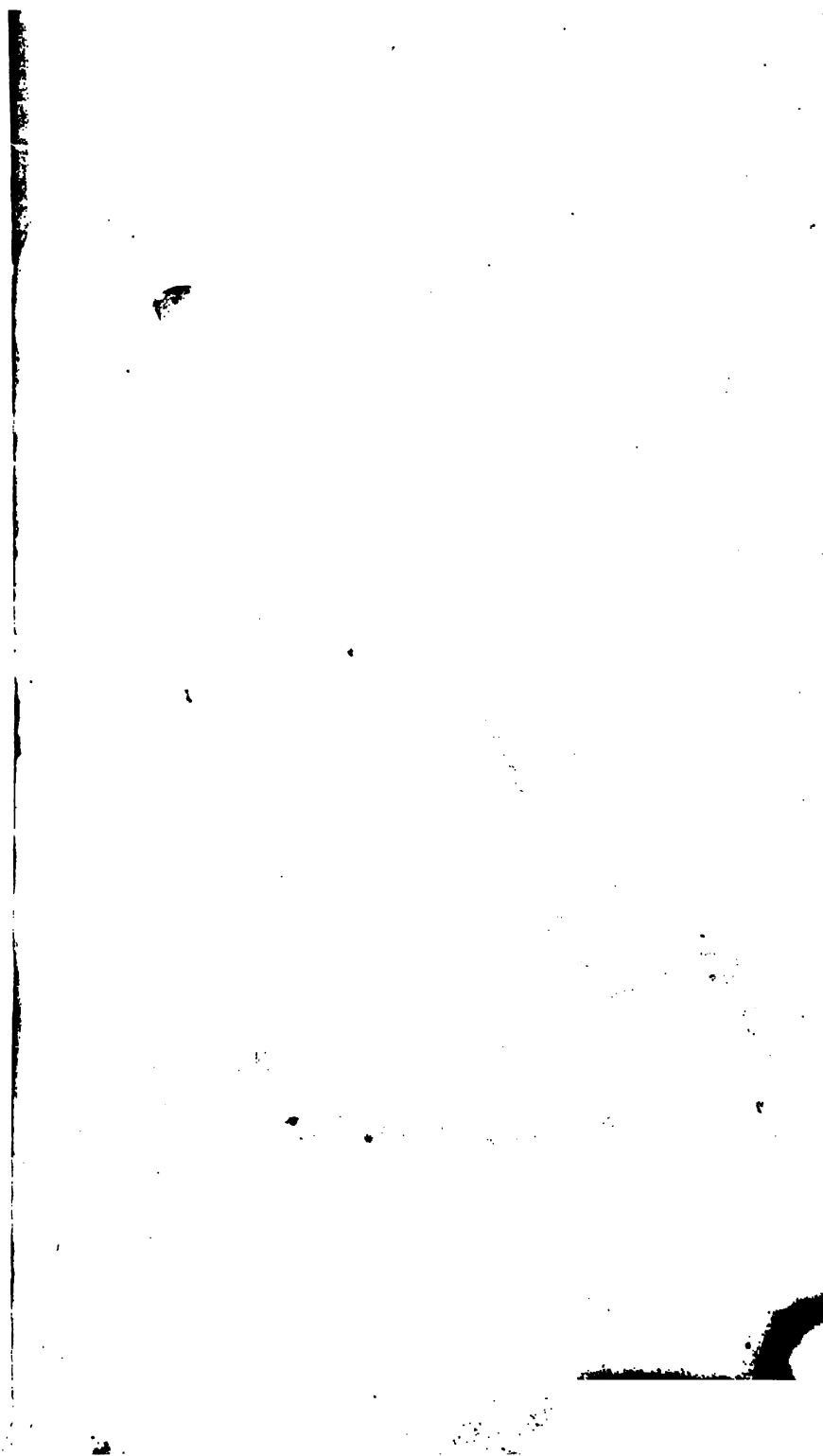


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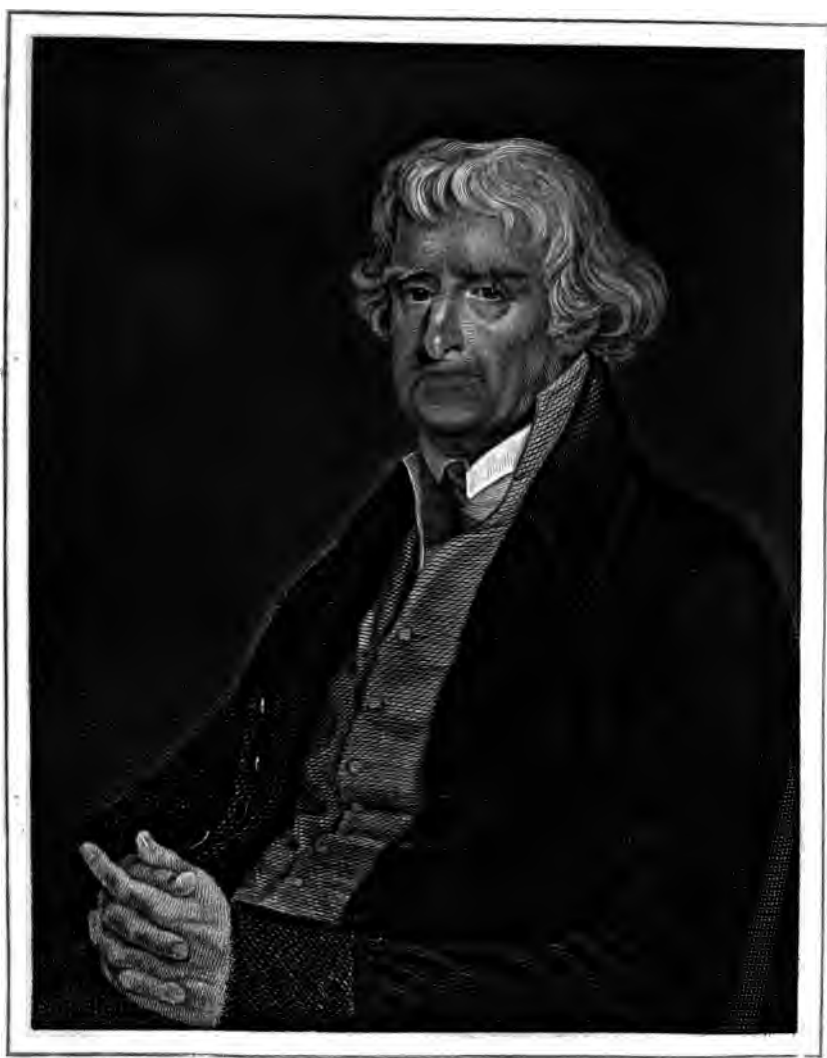












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THOMAS JEFFERSON,

**THE LIFE**  
**OF**  
**THOMAS JEFFERSON, ESQ. L. L. D.**  
**LATE EX. PRESIDENT**  
**OF THE**  
**UNITED STATES:**

**ARRANGED AND COMPILED FROM ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS:**

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**BY T. P. H. LYMAN.**

**AUTHOR OF REMARKS ON ITALY, LECTURES ON ASTRONOMY,  
A TOUR THROUGH THE WESTERN COUNTRY, &c. &c.**

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"It is the duty of every man to search diligently after truth; to listen dispassionately for its sake; and to condemn no man, until he has been fully and charitably heard. Let no one, therefore, pass sentence on this book, until he has read it; nor the subject of it, until the motives, circumstances, and the design of the author, have been candidly and impartially considered."

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***Eastern District of Pennsylvania, to wit :***

{ SEAL. } BE IT REMEMBERED, That on the seventh day of October, in the fifty-first year of the independence of the United States of America, A. D. 1826, T. P. H. LYMAN, of the said district, hath deposited in this office the title of a book, the right whereof he claims as proprietor, in the words following, to wit :

"The Life of Thomas Jefferson, Esq. L. L. D. Late ex. President of the United States : arranged and compiled from original Documents : by T. P. H. Lyman. Author of remarks on Italy, lectures on Astronomy, a tour through the western Country," &c. &c.

"It is the duty of every man to search diligently after truth : to listen dispassionately for its sake ; and to condemn no man, until he has been fully and charitably heard. Let no one, therefore, pass sentence on this book, until he has read it ; nor the subject of it, until his motives, circumstances, and design of the author, have been candidly and impartially considered."

In conformity of the Act of the Congress of the United States, intituled, "An act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts, and books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned ;"—And also to the act, entitled, "An act supplementary to an act, entitled, "An act, for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts, and books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned," and extending the benefits thereof to the arts of designing, engraving, and etching historical and other prints."

**D. CALDWELL,**

Clerk of the Eastern District of Pennsylvania.


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## PREFACE.

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The present performance was undertaken by the author, for the purpose of placing in the hands of every class of the community, a succinct account of the life of that distinguished statesman, and hero of the revolution, THOMAS JEFFERSON. If the old adage be true, "that a great book is a great evil," the author has certainly obviated that defect in the present work. His design has been to give a plain unvarnished narration, of the most prominent parts of the life of that great and good man, whose recent removal from these shades of mortality by death, has excited in Europe, as well as in every part of America, universal sorrow and regret. And we can scarcely be persuaded that there exists, in any class of society, an individual of a temperament so cold and so lost to a sense of nice and delicate feeling, or possessed of a mind so opposed to all that is grand and elevated in human nature, as not to experience emotions of pleasure, and even a temporary melioration of the heart, on reading or listening to a recital of the virtues, the wisdom, or the glory of his countrymen; particularly so, when we find them enrolled among that veteran band of faithful patriots, by whose wisdom in the cabinet, our infant country was conducted safely through the storm of the revolution, to independence and peace.

By all who are in any degree versed in the knowledge of antiquity, it will be well understood, that, among the ancient Greeks and Romans, no writings were held in higher estimation, or read with greater avidity, by those who could have access to them, than the biographical notices of those men, who had rendered any important service to their country, to science, or to virtue. But it is no easy task to collect even a



few materials for biography. This difficulty and the spirit with which these facts are to be treated, is most forcibly expressed, by one of the most profound moralists, and the ablest delineators of characters of the last century.—He says, “The necessity of complying with times, and of sparing persons, is the great impediment of biography : history may be formed from permanent monuments and records ; but lives can only be written from personal knowledge, which is growing every day less, and in a short time is lost for ever ; what is known can seldom be immediately told ; and when it might be told it is no longer known. The delicate feelings of the mind, the nice discriminations of character, and the minute peculiarities of conduct are soon obliterated ; and it is surely better that caprice, obstinacy, frolic and folly, however, they may delight in the description, should be silently forgotten, than that by wanton merriment and unseasonable detection, a pang should be given to a widow, a daughter, a brother, or a friend.”\*

In the following pages I have endeavoured to obey the wholesome injunction, “nor set down aught in malice,” and my conscience acquits me of saying any thing with undue severity: It may however be said, that I have erred on the other hand, and have praised too freely : my answer is, that from a long and personal acquaintance with the subject of this memoir, I have always considered him a man, “mighty in intellect,” one of heavenly mould, who, like the giants of old, are the offspring of the gods and the daughters of men :” nevertheless, there are many others in the profession, in Philosophy, in Poetry, or in general Literature, that are better for example and instruction ; they are nearer the level of human nature, and every thing which is said of them has a more common application and use. Demi-gods are but few in this world, rising here and there through the long vista of ages.—Hercules wandered alone over the face of the earth,

\* Dr. Johnson.

## PREFACE.

through wonders and perils to glory, and Alexander had no successor who could perpetuate the power he had created; but the good and the virtuous are not rare at any time, or in any country; they abound in every age, in every country, and under every circumstance. The latter like the stars in the milky-way shed a lustre on each other, while the former resemble the comets, which have appeared in the lapse of ages, astonishing the world, portentously blazing and suddenly passing away.

Should the reader desire to be made acquainted with the means by which MR. JEFFERSON acquired, that unbounded reputation in literature, politics, and law which he possessed, and of which he has given the most unequivocal demonstrations; we would answer: it was by his habits of close application and unwearied research, which he manifested in every situation in life, from his cradle to his grave.

To those who have never learned by experience the value of fleeting moments, nor by observation, what a long course of well regulated and indefatigable exertion can achieve, it might really seem that the amount of what MR. JEFFERSON read, wrote, and actively performed, would be severally the business of an entire life. But to him who never wasted even the fractions of time, but faithfully employed them either in the acquisition or application of knowledge: what to others would have been impossible, became to him practicable and easy; for it was his habits of observation and attention, his high ambition and persevering industry, that gave him his ascendancy over most of his contemporaries. Did the world produce more men, equal in assiduity and unwearied research, it would be adorned by more of equal distinction: so very true is it—A fact important to all men, but, which ought in a more especial manner, to be zealously inculcated upon the minds of youth—That industry is not only one of the parents of knowledge, but an essential component of human greatness. Without this most important quality,

an intellect of the highest order, but resembles a tract of fertile soil defectively cultivated, shooting forth a few luxuriant plants, but overrun with weeds, and not exempt from poisonous productions; while with it, minds much less richly endowed by nature, are converted into gardens, abounding in all that is ornamental and useful. Even Newton himself is known to have declared, that his power of attention and painful research, was the only quality in which he was superior to other men.

But heaven, which gave to MR. JEFFERSON this spirit of industry, endowed him also with a genius to give it effect.

There were united in him an imagination vivid, but not visionary, a most discriminating judgment, the attentiveness and precision of the Mathematician, and a memory, which, however enlarged and strengthened by exercise, must have been originally powerful and capacious.

With these wonderful faculties, which had, from the first dawnings of reason, been employed on subjects most interesting to the human mind, MR. JEFFERSON came to the study of that science, which claims a kindred with every other, the science of the Law.

Those who follow this profession from their habits, situation and relations in society, have a marked and unquestionable influence on the moral, civil, and political, affairs of the world. In every country where an altar has been erected to liberty, there has the profession been found, and it has flourished in proportion to the extent and permanency of the freedom of the people. In Greece existed eloquent advocates, orators, and lawyers, to defend the accused, and to prosecute for the rights of the injured and oppressed. The orations of Isæus, and the bold, argumentative, and pointed speeches of Demosthenes, have been preserved as models of splendid eloquence, and profound reasoning. It is the prerogative of a free man, to make use of the talents of another in his own cause. He has a right to call to his assist-

ance such powers of mind as he can obtain, and as it were to choose his champion to enter the list against his adversary. In Rome this class, or profession of men, were divided into lawyers, and advocates, or orators. Their characters, their influence, their rank in society, and even their manner of speaking, has been preserved to us by that most splendid of ancient masters in eloquence, Cicero, who, enamoured with the profession, pursued it with an unequaled ardour and success. It is true, that, in this country, we have not a body of nobility, nor do we suffer from a loose, uncertain population; but there exists classes in society, which have, and ever will continue to have, interests apparently different, and will pursue them with pertinacity and untired ardour. The lawyers are a class of men placed, as it were, between these parties. They know their rights, and the value of freedom and good institutions to all. They spring from all ranks, without the peculiar feelings of any one. Their education and pursuits lead to a full understanding of the value of civil, religious and political liberty; and the constant exercise of their faculties, make them fearless of declaring their opinions. They are placed between contending parties and interests, to prevent feuds and outrage. With unabated industry, they reach, but seldom go beyond the prayer of Agur; and indeed seldom from fulness forget the duties they owe to man and to God, and very rarely from poverty abuse the rights of others. It is not of individuals I here speak, but the body of the profession. The people of this country do not seem at all aware of what they owe to the profession; nor does the profession know at all times the relation in which they stand to the community. It is not that men in this profession have more patriotism than others; but the whole arises from their situation, pursuits, and habits of thought.


Who among us does not rejoice at the great and lasting blessings derived from a learned faculty in the healing art? I consider the learned physician as the Hierophant of nature,



who explains her mysteries and records her laws ; and a wise, learned, and pious body of clergymen, whose lives are spent in giving stability to morals, and elevation to hopes, whose holy business it is, to brace the mind of suffering humanity by the precepts of wisdom, and to smooth the bed of the dying, by the promises and consolations of the gospel. Such men I reverence, and I reverence the great and the good of all professions and of all pursuits ; but no one will think it unjust to observe, that neither divinity nor medicine, is so directly connected with the political or civil relations of life, as the profession of the Law.

There always has been, and ever will continue to be, miscreants in every profession and in every walk of life, and Law has its share. Sheltered as they are by its salutary forms, which were made for wise and good purposes, they become the organs of all the little, pitiful venom and oppressions, which mean spirited malignity wishes to exercise against those whom it has power to injure. By means of these wretches, malice assumes the scales of justice to mete out bitterness, extortion, and vengeance by standard, weight and measure. Without intelligence, or principle, without firmness or courage, but by a seeming regard to official duties, and want of strict justice, they wring from the widow's hand the cup of water, and from the orphan child the crust of bread ; and still worse, they sometimes acquire a name for smartness, activity, readiness, and punctuality in business, and grow fat upon the fruits of extortion. But blessed be God : such vipers preying upon the very vitals of soicety, are not numerous, nor are they respected for honesty or intelligence. They are only "vermin gendered on a lion's crest," and are named only to be abhorred.

Political prosperity may suddenly change and bring disappointment and distress to a nation ; but the information and habits of thinking and acting acquired by individuals, and the whole character and influence of a profession, cannot so



easily change. Relations in society which are formed by mature reflections, will be maintained so long as knowledge is diffused, and liberty and all its valuable institutions are considered a blessing. There is now a permanency in knowledge, of which former ages could not boast. Science and learning which consisted in facts, when transmitted by tradition, or committed only to writing, which might easily be lost, were of very uncertain continuance.

But now every branch of information is enlarged by the wisdom of every age, and the facilities of acquiring knowledge increase faster than the exemplifications of principles and opinions. Every profession has, and ever will have its greater and lesser lights, whose parallaxes it is difficult to measure. The eye of the mind has its optical illusions, and mental as well as natural vision, is liable to deception. One of the great benefits to be derived from the increase and diffusion of knowledge is, that it enlarges our views, corrects our judgments, and gives us an opportunity of forming fair and judicious opinions of men.

Literature and politics are generally pursued by most men of talents in this country in a greater or less degree, according to their opportunity and disposition; but our statesmen and literati cannot as yet be considered as a class of men exclusively devoted to politics or literature, for they are now found mostly attached to the learned professions. Some few there are who make it the whole business of their lives to pursue the delightful wanderings of science and letters, and a fewer still are constantly engaged from manhood to age in politics, but their number is too small to have any particular influence on society. Our numerous state governments are favourable to the growth of politicians. The legislatures of the several states are so many nurseries for the education of Statesmen. A general diffusion of knowledge is the foundation and prop of republican institutions. In achieving our independence, and building up our national character, a long

list of statesmen arose from every grade in life, possessed of knowledge, firmness, and a love of country, whose labours and whose fame deserve perpetual remembrance. These men, and particularly the one whose life is now offered to the public, were not only rich in the gifts of genius, and the virtues of patriots, but were able to defend and support their opinions with eloquence, and enforce their reasonings with the charms of the most finished compositions. The declaration of independence, and the addresses of the American Congress to the King of Great Britain, have been ranked by competent judges among the productions of the master writers of the first classic age of the world.

Although we have but few men exclusively devoted to letters, yet the progress of knowledge in this country is rapid beyond the calculations of the most visionary patriot of any former age. There has an awakening spirit gone abroad through the land, and the obstinacy of sturdy ignorance, and the indifference of busy thriftiness, are fast yielding to the progress of literature and science. The most stupid can now see plainly that science has descended from heaven, to enter the workshops of the mechanic, and to travel on the high road of business, to facilitate the labours of industry; and it is not difficult for common intilllects to perceive that letters are connected with science, which is so valuable even for the ordinary purposes of life. That happy city in which we live, yes, "Penns throng city" is a bright and morning star in the celestial hemisphere of light and knowledge. The cities of the south are vying with each other in literary emulation. The western wilderness has already budded and blossomed like the rose—There "beyond the mountains" literary institutions are established under the care and guidance of the proudest talents of the atlantic states.

But I cannot dwell long upon the present nor indulge in conjectures of the future The past alone is my province and

I must close my eyes on all the delightful visions which float before me. I must now direct my readers attention to the solitary mansions of the tomb, to the shades of the cypress and the willow, where sleep in unbroken slumbers, the ashes of the mighty dead, the framer of the *Declaration of Independence*, the friend of the just and equal Laws.

In compiling the following work, I have availed myself, not only of the letters and papers in my possession, together with my own information, gathered during my residence in his family, at several different periods, but I have likewise had recourse to those biographical sketches which have at different times been laid before the public. Whither the portrait which I have drawn will be found correct, and the lights and shades judicious, must be left to the plain unostentatious observer, and to the acute fastidious, and acrimonious connoisseur. Certain I am, that "viewd in whatever light he may be, he will always be considered a most extraordinary man—extraordinary in his talents, in his acquirements, in his rise, in his progress, and in his end; for the last efforts of his mind rise in power and brilliancy over almost any of the proceeding. He lived in a momentous time, and seemed made for such an occasion by the delight he felt in strong excitements, and the splendor of the exertions to which they gave rise. He may be considered in politics what the great reformers were in religion, possessed of zeal, powers, and perseverance, altogether boundless, to influence at favourable moments, the minds of men, from their customary channels of thought, to such as he deemed more advantageous. He was peculiarly fitted to be the great presiding genius of a country, and his great contemporaries should have been his ministers; and he will undoubtedly gain in reputation as he recedes from the fleeting animosities and prejudices of the day, and perhaps excite regret and surprise that we should have had among us the great master spirit in political prophesying and teaching, and not oftener have profited by his admonitions."



**THE LIFE**  
**OF**  
**THOMAS JEFFERSON, ESQ. L. L. D.**


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The features of some men who have a marked and strong physiognomy, are familiar to us in the productions of every artist, who attempts to give their likeness to the public. There are expressions two striking to be lost. Nature will not suffer her distinguished lines to be forgotten by carelessness, or effaced for want of talent. The heads of the great men of this and other countries are as will know by the wretched cuts seen in our shops, as by the productions of Reynolds or David. It is the same with the moral and mental qualities of some great men, drawn by ever so ordinary a writer, their superiority is immediately evident. A mere sketch assists us to preserve the remembrance of those whose talents and virtues deserve recollection; and from faint outlines, the able historian frequently forms an ample, beautiful, and imperishable biography.

It is a trite, but incorrect remark, that it is one of the highest efforts of the writer to delineate the character of a great man. The dull and regular features of imbecility, or mediocrity. are more difficult to trace, than the bold impressions of genius;

more taste is required to describe "the elegantly little," than "the awfully vast." To show the moth-worm from its birth in the dust, through its chrysalis state, to its bursting into life, in its second and beautiful form of existence, spreading its new born wings to flutter and revel in the sunshine, and passing away on the summer's breeze, requires a higher effort of talent, and demands more powers of description, than it does to give the whole history of the hundred years of the life of the eagle. It requires more delicacy and judgment to describe Mount Hymettus with its flowers, and the course Illyssus, with its delightful wanderings, than it does to make a map of the Mississippi, which rises from one side of the continent, and empties its waters into the other, or to trace the Andes, in whose giant shade, the nations of the earth might repose.

With the character of a great man, the writer can take the latitude of an historian before the tomb has closed upon the ashes of its subject. Time is not wanted to soften or hide defects, when the high qualities of the mind over-balance them; but for the dead whom fortune once made conspicuous, the eulogist must collect their virtues, and dispose of them with such skill and care as to bring whatever is good, or commendatory, into light, and to conceal their defects in the shade; while the biographer of true greatness, having no need of disguise, goes on with honest simplicity, and tells the world, all he can gather, and all he knows.



The life of the distinguished individual whose memoir we now present to the public had a mind formed for eminence and attempered to every virtue. Seldom has there been found in any one individual so enlightened a head united to a heart of such unspotted purity. A statesman of transcendent abilities, he was fitted for the management of the weightiest concerns: a patriot and legislator of tried integrity; the welfare of his country was the idol of his heart; an advocate and counsellor of the first and most exalted standing, he appeared both in the court-house and senate chamber with distinguished lustre.


With such an assemblage of attributes, native and acquired he was superlatively qualified to instruct and delight, enlighten and adorn. The brilliancy of his diction, and the fertility of his invention, while they gave richness to his resources, increased his charms both as a writer and a speaker. The quickness of his perception gave him an intuitive insight into the weakness of his opponents, and enabled him to assail them with greater effect. Add to these, that his wisdom and ingenuity, his erudition and address, chastening yet sustaining his eloquence, and directing all his knowledge to form himself a statesman, gave him an influence beyond what was ever possessed by any other man, if we except Washington, in the councils of the nation.

In any other country he would have attained



equal, if not greater distinctions. In England, his "notes on Virginia are sufficient to immortalise his name. In the dark ages, when superstition stamped her image on all that was human, his virtues and his wisdom might have secured to him the reputation of a saint. In Rome, his love of country and his weight in council would have raised him to the senate, while in ancient Greece, his intellects, his knowledge, and the varied powers of his mind, would have given him rank in private, and high authority in public life. In the United states where his destiny had placed him, and where talents and industry skilfully directed seldom fail to be productive of influence, he succeeded in acquiring an almost unbounded love and gratitude, admiration and renown, which the union of goodness and greatness can alone command. The history of his life, which will be an exposition of the means that raised him to this distinguished eminence, it shall now be my business briefly to unfold.

Thomas Jefferson, the subject of this memoir, was born on the 2d. of April, 1743, in the county of chesterfield, and state of Virginia, at a place called Shadwell, a country seat, now in possession of his grand-son, and but a short distance from Monticello, and only half a mile from his celebrated Rivanna Mills. His family are found among the earliest settlers in Virginia, of which colony his grand father, Thomas Jefferson, was a native. He was the second son of Mr. Peter Jefferson, well



known for the many and important services he rendered to his country at a very early period of its existence, but particularly for his having acted as one of the commissioners in settling the boundary line, between Virginia and North Carolina, in the year 1747, and who left his son Thomas, besides an affluent fortune, the still more enviable inheritance of an honourable name.

Mr. Jefferson, while very young, was placed under the care of an able instructor, for the purpose of acquiring the rudiments of his education. I have been informed by those in connection with the family, that he distinguished himself at this early period, by habits of close application and unwearied research. It has been frequently remarked, and we think the remark a very just one too, that trifling occurrences during childhood and youth, often influence our future lives. There is one in the life of Mr. Jefferson, which, however trifling it may appear, ought not to be entirely omitted in this place. I recollect, says a relative, during a visit I paid to Peter Jefferson, that a Mr. Mc Graw, a professional man of some eminence, from a neighbouring county, who, by dint of hard study, and unremitted attention to business, had raised himself to affluence and even independency, called at a store in the villiage but a short distance from the father's, and was regaling himself, first with one thing; then with another, until at length he took a pine apple, and deliberately sliced and ate it. The embryo statesman had his eyes all this

time revitted upon him, until his mouth even watered, and he observed to his relative, if I assiduously study my Latin and Greek, shall I not be able at some future day, as well as Mr. Mc Graw to earn money enough to lounge about in fruit-shops, and eat oranges, and pine apples as well as eh? he further continued: "I will study hard; and did so"—He has since remarked that however trifling the anecdote may appear, he firmly believed it was the chief cause which induced him to follow up his studies with such unabated ardour until he entered upon his professional career.

At the age of thirteen, he was admitted a member of William and Mary's College, at Williamsburg Virginia: he received the honours of this institution in the seventeenth year of his age.\* "His favourite studies while at College, were classics, history, philosophy, general literature, and from the speculative turn of his mind, it might be inferred, that he had a pretty strong attachment to metaphysics; at least, so far as they go towards clearing the judgment and strengthening the understanding, but no further. This pursuit, however he afterwards relinquished, convinced, as he said, that it was of doubtful utility, tending neither to make men better nor happier; but rather the reverse. His opinions, both of


\*This statement is taken from a letter to the author, from Doctor James of Virginia, of the 17th of August, 1826. I had long been impressed with the idea that Mr. Jefferson was graduated some time in the eighteenth year of his age. But the Doctor observes, "I have been personally acquainted with Mr. Jefferson, and intimate in his family, for upwards of twenty years, and, in this respect, could not have been mistaken."

many of our own and of the ancient writers, were formed at an early period; admiring more especially those which imparted the greatest knowledge of human nature, of the springs of human motives and human actions, and an acquaintance with human manners; and on this principle used not only to observe, "that a good novel was a good book," but frequently to amuse the social fire-side, particularly the Ladies, by perusing a few of the most celebrated; adopting fully the sentiments of Pope, that man is the proper study of man."

"Bacon's essays he read diligently, and always characterized them as the greatest works of that great man. Shakspeare, Addison, Le Sage, Fielding, and a Smollett, were his constant companions in every interval from graver studies. Richardson, contrary to the opinion of Johnson, he thought much inferior to Fielding as a describer of human nature. Demosthenes was his favourite orator. Plutarch's writings he professed to admire beyond those of any other. He preferred Euripides to Sophocles among the dramatists; and the Greek historians generally to the Latin. Of Horace, Lucretius, and Virgil, he was particularly fond; maintaining the superiority of the *Æneid* as a poem over the *Illiad*, while he admitted the general excellence of Homer's genius in invention, force, and sublimity, over that of Virgil."

Soon after his leaving college, he entered himself as a student at Law in the office of the Hon. George Wythe, the late venerable chancellor of

the state, a profession which he afterwards practiced with uncommon success. From the nature of our government, and the peculiar situation in which this country had long been placed, all our distinguished men, and particularly those who were intended for the profession of the Law, had made politics their study. They not only discussed principle, but disseminated their opinions through every part of the state. These shrewd observers well understood what manner of men their fellow citizens were, and they knew what reliance could be placed on them in difficulty and danger. The most ordinary man in the most obscure hamlet, could repeat something that had fallen from the lips of these oracles of law and politics; and observer frequently found that bold sentiments of liberty, sharp observations and sometimes pointed and severe sarcasms against the mother country, were most readily caught and treasured up by the people in general. Perhaps these men who powerfully influenced and felt the public pulse, had not a distant plan, nor at that time thought of absolute independence for their country; but this they certainly had in view, that as encroachment might follow encroachment, and irritation for a long time continue, that the public mind should be enlightened, and the nerves of the people braced against any evil that might happen. They well knew that an illuminated man is always a friend to just and equal laws, and an inveterate enemy to arbitrary power in every form that it may assume.




It will not be denied by any reflecting mind, that they did much in opening those fountains of political knowledge, whose streams continued widening and deepening as they rolled on in their rapid course, and, like the Ohio, or vast Mississippi, distributing their overflowing currents in numerous channels, enriching the public intellect, and causing to spring up those opinions, and principles, which carried on and finished the revolution.

While war for independence continued, the young Gentlemen intended for the bar, had an excellent opportunity of storing up information : for they could not enter into any business during these turbulent times. But the moment war had ceased, the talents and acquirements of this new generation were developed ; they were full of life and action in forming constitutions of government, in establishing courts, and in making laws for the public good. They had been learning, while others had been fighting, and reflecting, while others were acting ; and on the first opportunity discovered to their country that they had much of the wisdom of years, without the prejudices of old men.

Many of the aged actors in the revolution, who had not much acquaintance with the new generation, were fearful that our national glories would be lost for want of a high minded race to complete the work of freedom. But these fears were altogether visionary : the new race, like the chariot coursers of the ancients, exhibited a vigor and a fire in pro.

portion to the length of time they had been kept in training, before they were brought in to the harness to be yoked to the car. These remarks will apply to every state in the union, and to the great men who made their appearance during, and at the close of the war. In the new state of things after the revolution, the people were cautious and doubtful of every thing; all the arrangements that were made, were considered merely as experiments. They had laid a mighty foundation; but they knew not how to erect a superstructure upon it, that would stand as a lasting blessing to their country. The fact is, the public taste was not yet formed, the Gothic pile was preferred to the grecian architecture, and the uncouth and narrow portal to the lofty arch; what was made rough and massy in appearance was supposed to be excessive in strength, without regard to the principles of its structure. They forgot that the beautiful and magnificent temple of Theseus had stood in its simplicity and loveliness amid the wreck of ages, while a thousand dark and ponderous towers, had crumbled to the dust.

In the practise of the Law, it was ever an inviolable rule with Mr. Jefferson, as well as with his worthy preceptor, never to engage in support of a cause, which, after a full and thorough investigation he did not find to be just. There was a singular union of the most honourable feeling, which accompanied these two men through all the important scenes, in which they were afterwards



joined, and their friendship continued unimpaired till the death of Chancellor Wythe, in 1806, when as a posthumous proof of his esteem and regard, he bequeathed to his beloved pupil and friend his valuable library and philosophical apparatus.

The great and uncommon qualifications as a statesman possessed by Mr Jefferson, could not be overlooked by his country, at a time when she had so much need of their exercise in her service, nor would his patriotism permit him to remain inattentive to her call, notwithstanding it would separate him from domestic enjoyment, or professional pursuits. In 1769, being then only twenty five years of age, we find him a distinguished member of the legislature of Virginia; and he had, subsequently, a large share in all those determined measures of that body, with regard to the mother country, which finally led to the call of a general congress. His principal coadjutors in opposing the usurpations of Great Britain, were among the most eminent Lawyers and statesmen that Virginia could produce. In this constellation of manly and undaunted patriots, we recognize the names of Randolph, Pendleton, and Wythe; they were active and resolute defenders of colonial rights; but from their age, perhaps, and habits, which had been long confirmed, did not conceive at a very early period, the idea of a separation from the mother country. Patrick Henry, who was born in the very depths of obscurity, but possessed of intellects, that were ultimately to shake the throne of Eng-



land to its centre, now burst forth impatient and indignant; but his ardour seems to have been kindled by the extraordinary events of the day. The basis of Mr. Henery's intellectual character was *strong natural sense*: And during our revolutionary contest he stood in the foremost rank, in opposing the usurpations of Great Britain. The elements of his character were most happily mingled for the great struggle which was now coming on. His views were not less steady than they were bold. His vision pierced deeply into futurity and long before a whisper of independence had been heard in this land, he had looked through the whole of the approaching contest, and saw with the eye and rapture of a prophet, his country seated aloft among the nations of the earth.

His knowledge of human nature was consummate. His wisdom was that of observation, rather than of reading. His fancy, although sufficiently pregnant to furnish supplies for the occasion, was not so exuberant as to oppress him with its productions. He was never guilty of the fault, with which Corinna is said to have reproached her rival Pindar, of pouring his vase of flowers all at once upon the ground: on the contrary, their beauty and their excellence were fully observed, from their rarity, and the happiness with which they were distributed through his speeches. His feelings were strong, yet completely under his control; they rose up to the occasion, but were never suffered to overflow it; his language was often car-

less, sometimes incorrect; But upon the whole, it was pure and perspicuous, throwing out his thoughts in full and clear proportion: free from affectation, and frequently beautiful; strong without effort, and adapted to the occasion; nervous in argument, burning in passion, and capable of matching the loftiest flights of genius.

Notwithstanding he was possessed of those herculean powers of mind, which enabled him to wrestle, foil and subdue his adversary with the greatest ease, he was naturally indolent; and this habitual indolence followed him even into debate; he generally contented himself with a single view of his subject; but that was given with irresistible power. His eloquence was indeed a mighty and roaring torrent; it had not, however, that property of Horace's stream, *labitur et labetur, in omne volubilis ævum*—on the contrary, it commonly run by in half an hour. But it bore a striking resemblance to the eloquence of Lord Chatham, it was a short, but bold and most terrible assault—a vehement, impetuous, and overwhelming burst—a magnificent meteor, which shot majestically across the heavens, from pole to pole, and straight expired in a glorious blaze.

During the whole struggle of these colonies for liberty, Mr. Henery was either a member of the house of burgesses of Virginia, or of the general Congress at Philadelphia: And he has the undisputed honour of offering the first resolution, to-

wards crushing the giant strides of British despotism in our land. "But it is not my purpose to record the series of measures which led to the dismemberment of the British empire. This is the function of the historian. My business is only with Mr. Jefferson ; and for my purpose, nothing more is necessary than an occasional recurrence to the subject, for the purpose of shewing the part he bore in it. We may with propriety say, that the war for independence commenced with the resolutions, in 1765—66. From that period not an hour of settled peace had existed between the two countries. It is true that the eruption produced by the stamp act had subsided with its repeal ; but there was no peace of the heart or of the mind. The rumbling of the volcano was still audible, and the smoke of the crater continually ascended, mingled not unfrequently with those flames and masses of ignited matter, which announced a new and more terrible explosion.

These were "the times that tried the souls of men," and never, in any country or in any age, did there exist a race of men, whose souls were better fitted to endure the trial. Patient in suffering, firm in adversity, calm and collected amid the dangers which pressed around them, cool in council, and brave in battle, they were worthy of the cause, and the cause was worthy of them."

Mr. Jefferson was too young to have any inveterate attachment to the system of government under which he lived, from the mere force of habit, and

yet had passed more time than many older men, in the close and severe study and reflection on political subject. He possessed not only that liberal reach of thought, which, from the retirement of his closet, could look forward to the independence of his country, as a very desirable and by no means an improbable occurrence, but a philosophical self-possession also, which at that time of tumult and agitation, could calmly analyze, weigh, and compare, the various plans devised for the government of nations, ancient, and Modern; and fix upon the republican system as most suitable to the genius, and best calculated to promote the happiness of his country.

His duties in the house of burgesses were arduous and nearly incessant, but to minds disciplined like his, almost any thing of mental labour is possible, and in the midst of his avocations as a legislator, he found time, in the year 1774, to write and publish his celebrated work, entitled a "summary view of the rights of British America." He was still a member of the assembly, when, in June 1775, the propositions of Lord North were laid before them by the governor; and the duty was assigned to him of framing the reply of the house. Several extracts from this work appear in most of the histories of that period, as specemens of bold and fine writing, but there are other portions of it, less frequently seen, that bestow on it, a much higher character, than even of argument or eloquence, and which might be quoted as evidence of

the generous and enlarged views, both of the man who conceived, and the assembly which sanctioned, the sentiments they convey. Among the reasons exhibited by this profound statesman in behalf of Virginia, for not acceding to the propositions, are the following :

“Because, on our undertaking to grant money, as is proposed, the commons only resolve to forbear levying taxes on us, still leaving unrepealed their several acts passed for the purpose of restraining the trade, and altering the form of Government of the eastern colonies.

Because, they are also proceeding to a repetition of injury by passing acts for restraining the commerce and fisheries of the Province of New-England, and for prohibiting the trade of the other colonies with all parts of the world, except the Island of Great Britain, Ireland, and the west Indies.

Because the proposition now made to us, involves the interest of all the other colonies. We are represented in general congress by members approved by this house, where our former union, it is hoped, will be so strongly cemented, that no partial applications can produce the slightest departure from the common cause. We consider ourselves as bound in honour as well as in interest, to share one general fate with our sister colonies, and should hold ourselves as base deserters of that union to which we have acceded, were we to agree on any measures distinct and apart from

them." The closing part of this beautiful production cannot be too much admired.


These, my lord, are our sentiments on this important subject, which we offer only as an individual part of the whole empire. Final determinations we leave to the general congress now setting, before whom we shall lay the papers your lordship has communicated to us. For ourselves, we have exhausted every mode of application, which our invention could suggest as proper and promising. We have decently remonstrated with Parliament, they have added new injuries to the old ; we have wearied our King with supplications, he has not designed to answer us ; we have appealed to the native honor and justice of the British nation, their efforts in our favour have hitherto been ineffectual. What then remains to be done ? that we commit our injuries to the even handed justice of that being who doth no wrong, earnestly beseeching him to illuminate our councils, and prosper the endeavours to whom America hath confided her hopes ; that through their wise directions, may be again reunited the blessings of liberty, prosperity, and harmony, with Great Britain.

A few days after this address had passed, Mr. Jefferson took his seat in the general congress at Philadelphia : and, on leaving Virginia, experienced, probably, the most noble mark of the people's confidence in his virtue and integrity, that, as a political leader, he possibly could receive. A portion of the inhabitants, who had not yet felt any actual pressure of tyranny, and, although re-

spectable from their situation in life, were rather too unenlightened to perceive its speedy approach in events passing at Boston, waited upon their delegates, Mr. Jefferson, Mr. Lee, and Mr. Harrison, previously to their departure, and addressed them in the following words: "you assert that there is a fixed design to invade our rights and privileges; we own that we do not see this clearly, but since you assure us that it is so, we believe the fact. We are about to take a very dangerous step; but we confide in you, and are ready to support you in every measure you shall think proper to adopt.

Mr. Jefferson had scarcely appeared in the national assembly, before he became conspicuous among those the most distinguished by their abilities and ardour. In July following, when the conciliating propositions was transmitted to Congress by the several assemblies of Pennsylvania, Virginia, and New-Jersey he was placed upon the committee with Dr. Franklin, John Adams, and Mr. Lee, to whom the subject was referred by the house. The report of this committee takes a large view of American grievances, but its leading ideas, and, in some instances, even the phrases, are the same as the address reported by Mr. Jefferson in the Virginia Assembly.

It will not be going too far to assert, that Mr. Jefferson was one of the few, on whom the whole weight of the revolution rested. Perhaps there never was assembled a deliberative body of men



more enlightened, patriotic, and virtuous, than this legislature : but a portion of the doubt and apprehension of many timed persons in the community, could not but be communicated to some within the walls of congress. Mr. Jefferson was one of those in whose character weakness and irresolution were entirely unknown. He acted from a clear and long settled conviction, the result of cool and mature reflection, and while, he pursued a bold and undeviating course towards the great object of independence, was enabled by his example, as well as by his arguments, to encourage and confirm others.

The declaration of the Independence of the United States, which was read in the statehouse yard of this city, between the hours of one and two o'clock on the memorable 4th of July, 1776, was written by Mr. Jefferson. It would be entirely unnecessary at this late hour of the day to examine the merits of this production : not only America but all Europe too, have long since decided on its superior claims to excellence.\*

The striking similitude between the recital of wrongs prefixed to the constitution of Virginia, and that which was afterwards prefixed to the Declaration of Independence of the United States, is of itself sufficient to establish the fact that they are from the same pen. But the constitution of Virginia preceded the declaration of Independence,

\* See note A. at the end of the Volume.



by nearly a month ; and was wholly composed and adopted while Mr. Jefferson is known to have been out of the state, attending the session of congress at Philadelphia. From these facts alone, a doubt might naturally arise whether he was, as he has always been reputed, the author of that celebrated instrument, the declaration of American Independence, or at least the recital of grievances which ushers it in ; or whether this part of it, at least had not been borrowed from the preamble to the constitution of Virginia. To remove this doubt, it is proper to state, that there now exists among the archives of the same state, an original draught of a constitution for Virginia, in the handwriting of Mr. Jefferson, containing this identical preamble, and which was forwarded by him from Philadelphia, to his friend Mr. Wythe, to be submitted to the committee of the house of delegates. The body of the constitution is taken principally from a plan proposed by Mr. George Mason ; and had been adopted by the committee before the arrival of Mr. Jefferson's plan : his preamble, however, was prefixed to the instrument ; and some of the modifications proposed by him introduced into the body of it.

After having been read the only alterations the original draught of this master piece of composition underwent in the committee, were from Dr. Franklin and John Adams, each of whom suggested a single verbal alteration. In its progress through the house, where it was supported,


in its original form, by the Zeal of Mr Adams, it also experienced some change, but of a very trivial character. The venerable Edmund Pendleton, who died in 1803, left behind him a manuscript copy of the declaration, which had been sent to him by his friend Jefferson, before it had been submitted to the committee. The Paper is endorsed in Mr. Pendletons own hand writing as follows, "original draught of the declaration of Independence in congress changed for the worse," It may be added, that a few years since I examined the original paper in the possession of Mr. Jefferson, and agree with the biographer of Mr. Pendleton in his conclusions, that Mr. Jefferson appears to have almost exclusively drawn that instrument.

From the commencement of the year 1777, to the middle of 1779, Mr. Jefferson was engaged with Mr Pendleton and Mr. Wythe, in making a general revisal of the laws of Virginia, to be laid before the assembly of that state. The industry and zeal of these two gentlemen, prepared one hundred and twenty five bills, from which are derived all the most liberal features of the existing laws of the commonwealth. But it was to the enlightned mind of Mr. Jefferson, that Virginia owes the most important and beneficial change in her code. The laws forbidding the future importation of slaves; converting estates tail into *fee simple*; annulling the rights of primogeniture; establishing schools for the purpose of deffusing the blessing and advantages of general education; sanc-

tioning the right of expatriation ; and confirming the rights of freedom of religious opinion,\* were all introduced by him, and were adopted at the time they were first proposed, or at a subsequent period ; And, in addition to these, he brought forward a law, proportioning crimes and punishments, which was afterwards passed under a different modifications.

Mr. Jefferson was elected by the free Suffrage of his fellow citizens to succeed Patrick Henry as Governor of the state of Virginia in 1779, and was reappointed in the following year. He was yet in discharge of the important functions, attached to this office under a constitution scarcely settled, and his duties rendered still more arduous by the situation of the country and the clamors or secret machinations of envy and malignity ; when, in January 1781, the enemy invaded Virginia. It has been asserted, but by the base and unprincipled only, that on this occasion, Mr. Jefferson was remiss in his duty ; that he abandoned the government and fled from Richmond. A brief review of the circumstances attending Arnold's incursions will best shew what conclusions are warrantable from Mr. Jefferson's conduct in this affair. The moment intelligence reached Richmond that the enemy, with a fleet of twenty sail of the line, had entered the capes, the necessary orders were given for

\* Much has been said in regard to Mr. Jefferson's tenents in religion ; he has frequently been accused of venting sarcasms against it, and of speaking sneeringly of the scriptures : towards the close of our labours, we propose making some remarks on this head, and shall, therefore, refer our reader to them.



calling out the militia to oppose them; and while General Nelson was despatched to the lower country with full powers, a force of four thousand, seven hundred men, the number required by General, the Baron Sterben, was to be raised from the other counties. The assembling of this species of troops is, however, proverbially slow, and the few that could be brought together, amounting to about two hundred, and these from the town of Richmond, were ordered by Baran Sterben to Pittsburgh, which place he supposed would be the object of the enemy. When, at length, it was discovered that he was in full march for Richmond, it will be readily conceived that an attempt to defend it without troops of any kind, would have been preposterous. If, under these circumstances, Mr. Jefferson thought it expedient to retire, so also did the Baron Sterben, whose most peculiar duty it would have been to remain, had the place been deemed defensible. But it was not sufficient to assert that Mr. Jefferson did not desert Richmond in an improper manner. Justice requires it publicly and boldly to be asserted that he was the very last man of any consideration, either in a civil or military capacity, who remained in the town; and, that his exertions, even to personal labor, were incessant and unwearied; and, that he continued to the last practicable moment, in securing and sending off to a place of safety, the army, military stores, and public records. The rapid course of the enemy was not impeded for a mo-

ment by the trifling force that could be brought against him.

Arnold landed with fifteen hundred infantry and one hundred horse at Westover about twenty-six miles below Richmond, on the fourth of January: and the next day, at one o'clock in the afternoon, entered Richmond. A detached body, under Colonel Simcoe, proceeded, without halting to Westham, a crossing place about seven miles above; and having burned the magazine, the foundry, the boring mills, and other buildings, in the neighbourhood, rejoined Arnold at Richmond, which place, after completing the destruction of some public, and much private property, the enemy evacuated on the sixth, at 12 o'clock; thus having within less than forty-eight hours from the time of their landing, and nineteen from their destination, being known at Richmond, penetrated thirty three miles, done all the mischief in their power and retired.

The legislature of Virginia was sitting when the entrance of the enemy into James River was made known at Richmond. They were informed without reserve, of the measures adopted by the governor; every suggestion from the members was welcomed and considered, and their adjournment on the second of January, furnished the most immediate and confidential means of calling for the militia of their several counties. They accordingly became the bearers of those calls, and they were themselves witnesses that every preparation was making which

the exhausted and harrassed state of the country admitted.

They met again at Richmond in May, and adjourned to charlottee-ville, near the residence of the subject of this memoir, where they by much exertion formed a house on the twenty-eight of the month. The term of Mr. Jefferson in office expired on the second of June, being the fifth day of the session, and no succession had been appointed, when, on the fourth, an enterprise by Tarleton's cavalry drove them thence, they retreated still farther into the country but finally met and again formed a house at Stanton on the seventh. At this place some members attended, who were not with the others at Richmond at the period of Arnold's incursion; among these we notice the Hon. George Nicholas one of the most upright and certainly the most able men, except two or three, that composed that body, although at that time he was very young. This Gentleman, very honestly no doubt, supposed there had been some remissness in the measures of the governor, on that occasion, and accordingly, moved for an inquiry on the subject, to be made at the ensuing session, which was willingly agreed to by the members who had been at Richmond, as the most, likely means of doing justice, to the character, conduct, and patriotism of Mr. Jefferson. Mr. Nicholas in a friendly, candid, and honorable manner, sent to Mr. Jefferson by a friendly hand, a copy of the topics of inquiry he proposed to investigate; Mr.

Jefferson, with all the frankness imaginable, communicated to Mr. Nicholas the grounds of justification he should set up, in order that he might be prepared to refute the charges unless they were found to be properly founded. That he might be placed on equal ground for meeting the inquiry, one of the representatives of his county resigned his seat, and Mr. Jefferson was unanimously elected a member in his place. Mr. Nicholas, however, before the meeting of the assembly, became better satisfied with what had been done, and did not appear to be willing to bring forward the inquiry; and in a publication by him several years afterwards, he makes honourable acknowledgments of the erroneous views he had formerly entertained on this subject. Mr. Jefferson, therefore, read in his place, the inquiries Mr. Nicholas had proposed to make, and stated his own justification. The result was honourable indeed to Mr. Jefferson; an immediate and unanimous concurrence of the house, proposed and handed to Mr. Jefferson the following resolution: "Resolved unanimously, that the sincere thanks of the general assembly, be given to our former governor, Thomas Jefferson for his impartial, upright and attentive administration whilst in office. The assembly wish, in the strongest manner, to declare the high opinion they entertain of Mr. Jefferson ability, rectitude, and integrity, as chief magistrate of this commonwealth, and mean, by thus publicly avowing their opinion, to obviate and to remove all unmerited censure!"

It might have been expected that this honourable testimonial of the legislature would have completely secured the character of Mr. Jefferson from all aspersion. But it is the fate of distinguished virtue, from the noble and exalted elevation which it always holds, to be peculiarly obnoxious to the shafts of malevolence and envy. A thousand ludicrous parodies of these transactions have since been intruded upon the world, among which, that by general Lee, in his memories, is, perhaps, the most distinguished. In this work is an attempt by a person entirely unacquainted with the circumstances, of the case, to blacken and disgrace the character of a man, whose life, particularly in a political point of view, was spotless purity, and whose only aim was the good of his country. This officer was in a distant state at the time of their occurrence, and seems to have made up his random account altogether from idle rumour.

The entrance of Tarleton into Charlottesville in June, and the consequent flight of Jefferson from Monticello, having furnished themes for censure, a particular recurrence to the facts in this place will not be improper. After the adjournment of the legislature at Richmond in May, the enemy had been greatly argumented by reinforcements under Lord Cornwallis and general Phillips, and had advanced up into the country as far as Elk Island, and the fork of James' River. On learning that the legislator was in session at Charlottesville, they detached Colonel Tarleton, with his legion of horse



- to surprise them. He was, however observed, while passing through Louisa, on the evening of the third of June, by a Mr. Joveth, who suspecting his object, set out instantly for charlottsville and being well acquainted with the by-ways of the neighbourhood, passed the encampment of the enemy, and riding all night, arrived, before sunrise of the fourth, at Monticello, with information of what he had seen, and immediately passed on to Charlottsville, to apprise the members of the assembly. The speakers of the two houses, and several of the members, had that night lodged at Monticello. Mr. Jefferson ordered a carriage to be in readiness to carry off his family, who, however, breakfasted at leisure with their guests. Soon after breakfast, and when the visitors had left the house, a neighbour rode up in full speed, with the intelligence that a troop of horse was then ascending the hill. Mr. Jefferson now sent off his family, and after a short delay for some indispensable arrangements, mounted his horse, and taking through the woods, joined them at the house of a friend, where they dined. It would scarcely be believed by any person not acquainted with the fact, that this flight of a single and unarmed man, from a troop of cavalry, whose whole legion too, was within supporting distance, and whose main object was his capture, has been the subject of volumes of reproach, in both prose and poetry, serious and sareastic.


It is no slight proof of the mental energies pos-

sessed by Mr. Jefferson, that amidst the tumult and confusion of the year 1781, he could compose such a work as his celebrated "Notes on Virginia." This work, which has passed through a number of editions in this country, and one or two in Europe, has gained him an imperishable laurel as a writer of the first grade in our country. It was undertaken at the particular request of Monsieur de Marbois, the secretary of the French legation in the United States, at the suggestion, it is supposed, of the French Court. In the following year 1782, the "notes" were much enlarged by the author, and in 1784, a few copies were printed at Paris in the French language by Mons. de Marbois, and gratuitously distributed by him among his particular friends. Soon after this a very imperfect translation into the English having appeared in France, Mr. Jefferson, in 1787, favoured the public with the first complete edition in the English language. The author has recorded in this work the celebrated Speech of Logan, an Indian Chief, as a specimen of native eloquence, and, as far as it would go, in disproof of the absurd theory which had been advanced by Mons. Buffon, Raynal, and others.

This speech was, afterwards, about the year 1797, pronounced by the enemies of the author of the notes to be a gross forgery, and the whole transaction connected with it, a base fabrication. "As soon as I found that the story of Logan, could be doubted," observes Mr. Jefferson, in a letter to

governor Henry of Maryland, "I determined to enquire into it as accurately as the testimony, after a lapse of twenty odd years, would permit, and that the result should be made known, either in the first new edition which should be printed of the notes on Virginia, or by publishing it in an appendix.

I thought that so far as that work had contributed to impeach the memory of Cresaps, by handing down an erroneous charge, it was proper it should be made the vehicle of retribution. Not that I was at all the author of the injury. I had only concurred with thousands and thousands, of others, in believing a transaction on authority which merited respect. For the story of Logan is only repeated in the Notes on Virginia, precisely as it had been current for more than a dozen years before they were published. When Lord Dunmore returned from the expedition against the Indians, in 1774, he and his officers brought the speech of Logan, and related the circumstances connected with it. These were so affecting, and the speech itself so fine a morsel of eloquence, that it become the theme of every conversation, in Williamsburgh particularly, and generally, indeed, wheresoever any of the officers resided or resorted. I learned it, said he, in Williamsburgh; I believe at Lord Dunmore's; and I find in my pocket book of that year (1774) an entry of the narrative, as taken from the mouth of some person, whose name, however, is not noted, nor recollected precisely in the words stated in the



notes on Virginia. The speech was published in the Virginia Gazette of that time, and though in a style by no means elegant, yet it was so admired, that it flew through all the public papers of the continent, and through the magazines and other periodical publications of Great Britain; and those who were boys at that day, will now attest, that the speech of Logan used to be given them as a school exercise for repetition. It was not till about thirteen or fourteen years after the newspaper publications, that the notes on Virginia were published in America. Combating in these, the contumelious theory of certain European writers, whose celebrity gave currency and weight to their opinions, that our country, from the combined effects of soil and climate, degenerated animal nature, in general, and particularly the moral faculties of man, I considered the speech of Logan as an apt proof of the contrary, and used it as such; and I copied, verbatim, the narrative I had taken down in 1774, and the speech as it had been given us in a better translation by Lord Denmore. I knew nothing of the Cresaps, and could not possibly have a motive to do them an injury with design. I repeated what thousands had done before, on as good authority as we have for most of the facts we learn through life, and such as, to this moment, I have seen no reason to doubt. That any body questioned it, was never suspected by me, till I saw the letter of Mr. Martin in the Baltimore paper. I endeavoured then to recollect who among

my cotemporaries, of the same circle of society, and consequently of the same recollections, might still be alive. Three and twenty years of death and dispersion had left very few. I remembered, however, that General Gibson was still living, and knew that he had been the translator of the speech; I wrote to him immediately. He, in answer, declares to me, that he was the very person sent by Lord Dunmore to the Indian town; that after he had delivered his message there, Logan took him out to a neighbouring wood; sat down with him, and rehearsing, with tears, the catastrophe of his family, gave that speech for Lord Dunmore; that he carried it to Lord Dunmore; translated it for him; has turned to it in the Encyclopedia, as taken from the notes on Virginia, and finds that it was his translation I had used, with only two or three verbal variations of no importance. These, I suppose, says he, had arisen in the course of successive copies. This letter, he says, establishes unquestionably, that the speech of Logan is genuine; and that being established, it is Logan himself who is author of all the important facts. "Colonel Cresaps," says he, "last spring, in cold blood, and unprovoked, murdered all the relations of Logan, not even sparing my women and children. There runs not a drop of my blood in the veins of any living creature. This called on me for revenge. I have sought it: I have killed many: I have fully glutted my vengeance; for my country I rejoice at the beams of Peace. But do not harbour a

thought that mine is the joy of fear. Logan never felt fear. He will not turn on his heel to save his life, who is there to mourn for Logan? not one." The reason and the fact, in all its material circumstances are here given by Logan himself. General Gibson, indeed, says, that the title was mistaken; that Cresaps was a captain and not a colonel.—This was Logans mistake. He also observes, that it was on the Ohio, and not on the Kanhaway itself, that his family was killed. This is an error which has crept into the traditionary account; but surely of little moment in the moral view of the subject. The material question is, was Logan's family murdered, and by whom? That it was murdered has not, I believe, been denied; that it was by one of the Cresaps, Logan affirms." Thus much for the story of Logan. The false charges which have been preferred against Mr. Jefferson in regard to this particular, have been forever put to silence, by judge Gibson's letter, and can never again justly be brought against him.\*

About the close of the year 1782, Mr. Jefferson was appointed minister Plenipotentiary, to join those in Europe, who were to determine on the conditions of a treaty of peace and amity between the two belligerent nations, which it was expected would soon be entered into. He had, at a former period, immediately after the declaration of inde-

\* Vide, note at the end of the Work.

pendence, been joined in the commission with Dr. Franklin and John Adams, to propose to France, treaties of alliance and commerce, but declined going abroad at that time, from circumstances in the state of his family, and from a conviction that he could be more useful in America ; for, the affairs of the country then laboured under their greatest difficulties. None of these obstacles however, intervening on the present occasion, he repaired to Philadelphia, in January 1783, in order to embark for Europe. Here the minister of France offered him the French frigate *Romulus*, which was then at Baltimore, for his passage ; but before the ice would permit her to leave the port, intelligence was received that preliminaries of peace between the United States and Great Britain had been signed. Mr. Jefferson then wrote to Congress from Baltimore, to inquire whether the occasion of his services was not passed, and they of course, dispensed with his leaving America.

In the summer of this year, Mr. Jefferson was in congress, at the time the Virginia convention were establishing their form of government. He had been for some time engaged on this subject, and had prepared a constitution for the state, formed on the purest principles of republicanism, and which was, probably, the first draught of a fundamental constitution made by any man in America. This he transmitted to the convention, but it did not reach them until the day on which the one that had been proposed in the house, was to re

ceive its final vote. The debate had been ardent and protracted, and the members, wearied and exhausted, were not disposed to recommence the subject, whatever good they might perceive in the draught sent them by Mr. Jefferson. His preamble however, in the following words, was adopted entire, and prefixed to their constitution.

“To the citizens of the commonwealth of Virginia, and all others whom it may concern, the delegates for the said commonwealth in convention assembled, send greeting.

It is known to you and to the world, that the government of Great-Britain, with which the American States were not long since connected, assumed over them an authority unwarrantable and oppressive; that they endeavoured to enforce this authority by arms, and that the states of New-Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode-Island, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina, South-Carolina, and Georgia, considering resistance, with all its train of horrors, as a lesser evil than abject submission, closed in the appeal to arms. It hath pleased the *Sovereign Disposer* of all human events to give to this appeal an issue favourable to the rights of the States; to enable them to reject forever all dependence on a government which had shown itself so capable of abusing the trusts reposed in it; and to obtain from that government a solemn and explicit acknowledgment that they are free, sovereign, and independent States. Du-



ring the progress of that war, through which we had to labour for the establishment of our rights, the legislature of the commonwealth of Virginia, found it necessary to make a temporary organization of government for preventing anarchy, and pointing our efforts to the two important objects of war against our invaders, and peace and happiness among ourselves. But this like all other acts of legislation, being subject to change by subsequent legislatures, possessing equal power with themselves, it has been thought expedient, that it should receive those amendments which time and trial have suggested, and rendered permanent by a power superior to that of the ordinary legislature. The general assembly therefore of this state recommend to the good people thereof, to chose delegates to meet in general convention, with powers to form a constitution of government for them, and to declare those fundamentals to which all our laws present and future shall be subordinate: and in compliance with this recommendation, they have thought proper to make choice of us, and to vest us with powers for this purpose.

We therefore, the delegates, chosen by the said good people of this state for the purpose aforesaid, and now assembled in general convention, do in execution of the authority with which we are invested, establish the following constitution and fundamentals of government for the said State of Virginia.”\*

\* See note B. at the end of the Volume.

On the establishment of peace, and the consequent opening of a general commercial intercourse, plenipotentiary commissions for the concluding of treaties of commerce, were given to Thomas Jefferson, Dr. Benjamin Franklin, and John Adams, addressed to the several powers of Europe, and Mr. Jefferson sailed from the United states in July 1784. A commercial treaty with Prussia was the only result of these commissions, immediately after the signing of which, Dr. Franklin returned to America, and Mr. Jefferson was appointed his successor as minister Plenipotentiary to France. A short time previous to the expiration of the joint commissions, he crossed over to London, with his colleague Mr Adams, to endeavour to promote, between the governments of the United States and Great Britain, a cordial connection of interests, and, among the terms they proposed to offer, was an exchange of naturalization of citizens and vessels, as to every thing relating to commerce or commercial navigation. The two ministers were received by Lord Carmathaen, and their commissions read, but he evaded every attempt they made to procure a conference on the subject, and a few days only before their commissions would have expired, and after seven weeks attendance in London, Mr. Jefferson returned to Paris.


The subjects of negotiation at the court at Versailles, were not of a character, perhaps, to call in to exhibition what are usually termed shining diplomatic talents, but no little address was requi-

red, to gain from de Vergennes and Calonne, the commercial advantages he did, in opposition to the powerful body of the farmers generally, and other interested persons. Among the principle benefits then obtained, and continued to the United States till the period of the French revolution, were the abolition of several monopolies, and the free admission into France of tobacco, rice, whale oil, salt fish, and flour; and of the two latter articles into the French West India Islands.

While residing in France, Mr. Jefferson was requested by his native State, to present in its name, to the city of Paris, the bust of our recent national guest, the Marquis de la Fayette: An accident deprived him from having this gratification; and his friend Mr. Short of Virginia, was deputed by him to perform the ceremony, in person, accompanied by a letter from Mr. Jefferson.

The leisure, as minister, which was imposed on him by the increasing distraction of the country, allowed him the opportunity of cultivating his acquaintance with the fine arts, and of enjoying the society and conversation of men celebrated in literature and science. His frequent letters to eminent persons in America, during this period, display the great versatility of his genius, and the constant attention he bestowed on every thing calculated to embellish or benefit Society.

He continued in France until October 1789, when, having obtained leave of a temporary absence, he embarked for America, and arrived at Norfolk in the following November. On his way



to his seat at Monticello, he was met by an express from the President, bringing him a commission as Secretary of State under the lately established Federal constitution. He would, it is believed, have preferred returning to France, but could not refuse to acquiesce in the very strong desire expressed by General Washington that he would afford the aid of his talents to the government at home. He, accordingly, in April 1790, proceeded to New-York, then the seat of government, and entered upon the office of Secretary of State, in which he continued until the first of January 1794, when he resigned the situation and retired to private life. The reasons which induced him to retire from public affairs, have been variously stated. Although the charmes of domestic retirement, from which he had been so much estranged, must have been greatly attractive to one who had always so high a relish for its enjoyment, yet the principal cause of his retirement seems to be too obvious to be mistaken. His weight in the cabinet was overbalanced by opposite political opinions and interests, and he might naturally desire, under such circumstances, to quit a situation where he found he could be no longer useful. He had, therefore, in the preceeding summer, intimated to the president, the design he now executed, of retiring at the close of the year. He withdrew with unimpaired, and even with added, reputation. The arduous and important duties of his station are universally acknowledged to have been discharged in

a manner to reflect the highest credit on himself and on his country. The neutrality of the United States was maintained at a most trying period, with inflexible impartiality towards the belligerent powers of France and England. His department towards Hammond and Genet, the ministers resident of great and rival powers, furnished the clearest evidence of his unyielding firmness and consummate ability as a statesman, and the publication of his correspondence with Genet, for a time, even disarmed party of its rancour against him. A few other of his acts, while secretary, ought, perhaps, to be noticed, as they are calculated to show, in various lights, the wonderfull extent of his capacity. Among these might be particularized, his reports on the privileges and restrictions of commerce; and on the Whale- and Cod-fisheries; with his plan for reducing the currency, weights, and measures of the United States to an uniform standard. It has been observed, that these papers evince not only the feelings of a patriot and the judgment of an accomplished statesman, but display, at the same time, uncommon talents and knowledge as a Mathematician and natural philosopher, the deepest research as an historian, and even an enlarged and intimate acquaintance with the business and concerns of a Merchant.


In the bosom of his family at Monticello, Mr. Jefferson had now for a short time, a taste of those tranquil pleasures which he ever so ardently desired, But the state of the country did not long

permit him to enjoy them. General Washington was about to retire from public life in which he had been long and ardently engaged, and the eyes of Mr. Jefferson's political friends were already placed on him as his successor in the presidential chair. After a severe struggle between the parties, Mr. Adams, was elected to this high and responsible office, in 1797, and Mr. Jefferson having the next highest number of votes, became vice president of the United States. In the dignified situation of vice President, he continued to grow in the esteem, confidence, and affections of his fellow citizens; subject indeed, to those animadversions which he, who is considered as the leader of a party, must expect, from those in opposition to him. But the period was fast approaching, when he was to receive the most unequivocal proofs of the estimation in which he was held by the larger portion of his fellow citizens. In the year 1801, on the expiration of the constitutional term of four years from the election of Mr. Adams, a majority of suffrages appeared for Mr. Jefferson, as president of the United States, and he was then exalted by the free choice of the people to the highest station acknowledged by their form of government. He continued to preside over the destinies of the nation during eight years, and when, in 1809, perceiving, as he thought, the decay of his physical powers, and doubting the continuance of his mental energies, he declined a third election, and resolved to withdraw for the remainder of his days

from public life, and from that political Theatre on which he had been so conspicuous an actor. The admiration, the regrets, and the gratitude of the whole nation followed him.

Mr. Jefferson has been branded, by those who were opposed to his administration, (in a correspondence which has lately emanated from the press, between John Adams and a distinguished citizen of Massachusetts,) as an *infidel* to his country; and by one too who was colleague with him, and who professed a friendship for him, through the principal scenes of the revolution: but envy, jealousy, and resentment burned in his bosom; and he conceived the mighty project, of prostrating the reputation of Mr. Jefferson, and raising himself and family upon the ruins of republicanism. "His immediate friends, and many of the newspaper scribblers of the day, at his instigation, embarked in the business of calumny, and his administration was assailed, with a venom and virulence, unparalleled in the annals of any other age or nation."

Mr. Adams effected to shudder at the calamities, which the *infidel* President was preparing for his country, and he made an appeal to the religion and morality of the people, to avert the impending desolation. But alas! "Mr. Jefferson has stood, like Atlas, upon a broad and immovable basis, with his head in clear sun-shine, above the clouds. His administration was energetic, without armies—dignified, without gag-laws—and, the treasury abundant, without direct taxes. The principles



of the constitution, went into complete and harmonious operation, and the resources of the country were developed to the credit of this, and to the admiration of other nations. Religion and her alters were preserved from profanation; temples of literature and science were founded and patronized—and an immense population spread into the western wilderness, carrying the habits of industry and enterprise, and the principles of civil liberty.

“To any one, who will read this correspondence impartially, it will plainly appear that “in the estimation of Mr. Adams, no person in the nation, of any party, is entitled to consideration or credit, except himself and his son, who, when appointed to an important office, *“is banished because he is just.”*—They seem especially designed by providence, to take this infant nation into their keeping, and to hold her in safe leading-strings, through successive generations. Thrice happy America, for possessing such a race! How blind and infatuated, for entrusting the reigns, for a moment, to such ignoble hands as Jefferson and Madison!”

‘It is well observed, that the truest delineations and traits of human character, are found in private intercourse and in familiar correspondence. Here, the mind discharges its sentinels—the heart is liberated from the restraints of policy and affectation—and, the whole man unbends and displays the ingredients of his composition, and speaks the language of real feelings and sentiments. It is in



this plain and unclouded mirror, that the American people may now behold the character, who once presided over their destinies, and who assumed to be their political father.'

'It would be a curious investigation to look minutely into the chasm of years, in this correspondence. But, the secret working of the passions—the humbled pride—the stifled hatred and resentment—the writhings and agonies of conflicting desires, must be left to conjecture. The result only is known. Unconquerable ambition gained a victory, *et omnia alia cedant*. To this triumphant passion, truth, consisting, former principles, and gratitude to former friends, associates and supporters, must yield.'

The fervour of ambition, the desire of distinction, which plainly appears to have actuated Mr. Adams, in writing these letters, to his correspondent, many of which are pointedly against Mr. Jefferson, is more fatal to the repose of mankind, when carried to any considerable length, than the military ardour which impels the conqueror to carry devastation, terror, and death, over the world, in search of laurels and of triumphs. Every consideration was sacrificed to vanity or fame, or both; and it plainly appears that the favour of men, was more preferable to him, even in his old age, than the approbation of heaven. He conceived, that the most effectual way, to gratify his restless passion, and to obtain the admiration of the crowd, was to attack every public character in the nation whom

the American people delighted to honor, and in so doing, he cast the fire-brand of defamation against every thing sacred and venerable in morals, religion, and character. Perhaps Mr. Adams was impressed, at the time he wrote these letters, with the idea that if he confided his sentiments of public men, and public characters, to Mr Cuninghame, he being a literary man, would be of service to him in vindicating his character from any aspersions which might be thrown out against him. For as Doct. Young very pertinently observes,

———— Fresh hopes are hourly sown.  
In furrow'd brows. So gentle's life's decent,  
We shut our eyes, and think it is a plain.  
We take fair days in winter for the spring,  
And turn our blessings into bane. Since oft  
Man must compute that age he cannot feel,  
He scarce believes he's older for his years :  
Thus at life's latest eve, we keep in store  
One disappointment sure to crown the rest ;  
The disappointment of a promised hour.

But to return ; before we speak of Mr. Jefferson after his retirement from public life, it will be necessary to take a cursory glance at those of his public acts which have not as yet been noticed.

The interdiction of commercial intercourse with other nations, the most prominent measure, perhaps of his administration, appears to have been imposed by circumstances growing out of the peculiar state of the relations of foreign belligerent

powers, who deemed it essential to the maintenance of their own, to invade the rights of neutrals. This measure promised, while it secured our prosperity, and our seamen, to compel redress of wrongs, by depriving the aggressors of a trade which had become of considerable importance to them. The continuance of the embargo by Mr. Jefferson, notwithstanding the frequent evasions or infractions of the law, was approved by some, while it was considered by others as injurious to the interests of the nation.

It may be proper to state the fact, although we shall not pretend to enter upon a formal investigation of a subject which has been so much discussed by the ablest men of our country, and upon whose merits it is for the nation at large to decide.

Mr. Jefferson has been charged with a particular animosity towards England, and with a constant desire to engage the United States in a war with that nation. But it would seem, if the protraction of the embargo, when the country cried out for war, did not disprove this charge, that at least, his conduct on another occasion might, in every impartial mind. The repeated insults to our national sovereignty, offered by the British vessel of war the *Leopard*, excited but our sensation throughout the United States. Mr. Jefferson strove to allay, and did allay, the violent excitement in the public mind, and for the time, by his individual moderation, a principle which distinguished him through life, averted war: and although his forbearance in

this instance may not be applauded by all his friends, surely it did not bear the face of much consistency in those who had before reproached him with having cherished hostile propensities, then to censure him for his pacific disposition.

An undue partiality for France, and a correspondence and connection with Bonaparte, have been urged against him ;—but his conduct during the very fever of democratic sympathy, in 1793, ought to confute the former charge ; and the latter is almost too preposterous to be seriously met. Mr. Jefferson never for a moment, could look upon the ambitious schemes of Nepelean in even his accustomed spirit of toleration. He was precisely such a ruler as Mr. Jefferson could not like.

For the rest, of it be necessary to say so, no private letters, message, communication, or present of any kind, ever passed between them.

Among the faults imputed was a strong disinclination to the erection of a navy. But a referance to his “notes on Virginia,” will conclusively ascertain, that he had liberal, though reasonable ideas on the subject of a naval establishment, when that work was composed, and, therefore, before many others in the country had given it a thought. When the reduction of the United States marine, under his administration is spoken of, it is too often kept out of view, that this reduction was the consequence of a plan proposed on the last day of his predecessors term of office.

If the measure was thought expedient by Mr.

Adams, there seems no sufficient reason for the objection to Mr. Jefferson's policy in according to it. He exercised no other authority than had formerly been given to Mr. Adams, in selling those vessels of war which were found to be manifestly unfit for public service, and it ought not to be forgotten that under his administration, several changes were made in the naval establishment, showing at least, no hostility towards it; if these might be mentioned, the very considerable augmentation of the body of naval officers, and of the corps of marines, the completion of the navy yard at Washington, and, among many minor improvements, the extension of the term of enlistment of seamen. On the efficacy of gun boats in the defence of harbours, the idea of which has been so often derided, the writer of this professes himself entirely incompetent to decide. The theory, like that of the torpedo, may yet require the test of a fair and ample experience, but whatever confidence Mr. Jefferson may have had in these means of defence, it does not appear that he considered it as any thing more than a mere auxilliary to land fortifications; and, if comparisons were even now to be forced upon the public, it might easily be shown that the appropriations for fortifying our ports and harbours during his administration, equalled, at least, in amount, those made under his predecessor.

There was a time when the purchase of Louisiana was, considered by many among the political sins of Mr. Jefferson, but it is presumed, that that

peried has now gone by. We are sorry to say it, although the fact is universally acknowledged, that it was considered, at the time, by a large portion of the American people, as a very impolitic measure, notwithstanding it extended the boundaries and greatly increased the resources of the nation.

Perhaps no one of his acts displays in its truer light, the character of his mind, replete with philanthropy and the love of science, than his almost immediate directions for the exploration of the trackless wilds of that immense country. The expedition of Lewis and Clarke on the Missouri, and of Major Pike to the sources of the Mississippi, were projected by Mr. Jefferson, not more with a view to the attainment of knowledge, than to the extending of the bounties and blessings of friendship and civiliation to the savages of the wilderness, a race of men who, in every part of the United States, owe as much to his efforts for the melioration of their condition, as to those of any other individual.

But a principal attributed offence of Mr. Jefferson, remains to be considered. It has been alleged that he was the enemy and calumniator of Washington. The allegation is chiefly grounded on a letter written by him to Mr. Mazzei author of the "researches historical and political on North America." This gentleman a learned and scantific Italian, with a small colony of Tuscans, had settled in Virginia, about the year 1773, and was welcomed and cherished by many of the Citizens, among

whom were Washington and Jefferson. He had been in the civil and military employ of his adopted state during a part of our revolutionary war, and was captured by the British while in its service. Mr. Mazzei was now in Tuscany, but he still continued a zealous republican, and was a devoted friend to the United States, and took a deep interest in all that concerned her. The letter in question was written by Mr. Jefferson to this gentleman, when the fever of party raged with uncommon violence, at a period subsequent to his resignation as secretary of state, and after the conclusion of the treaty with Great Britain by Mr. Jay, a measure which Mr. Jefferson, as a private citizen, never did approve. In his letter to Mr. Mazzei, he did advance the opinion, that the political situation of the country had undergone a material change since he left it, that a party had arisen too much inclined to the politics of England, whose principles had a tendency, even to Monarchy; and that this party embraced some who had formerly been distinguished in the councils and in the field by their wisdom and energy. This, then, is the calumny, against Washington, the great political father of our country. But the name of Washington is not even mentioned in his letter, and while giving his opinion of a party, the right of Mr. Jefferson to speak openly of acts, to which he had shown, while secretary of state, the most unequivocal proofs of disapprobation, cannot be denied.

With respect to the libeller Callender, a man

whose name ought not, perhaps, to pollute the page of any work, a few words will suffice. This person was an emigrant from Scotland; driven from his native country, as he stated by persecution, on account of his literary efforts in the cause of his country and of liberty. Several of the inhabitants of Philadelphia joined in pecuniary contributions to his relief, and Mr. Jefferson, on being applied to, did not withhold from him the charity, which on all occasions, was freely accorded to distress. A very respectable person now resides in Philadelphia, at whose instance these donations of Mr. Jefferson were granted. The subsequent conduct of Callender may have been infamous, and some of his writings base and false; but this cannot by any means, destroy the purity of the motives which actuated the minds and feelings of his early benefactors. To Mr. Jefferson, this man had always been a stranger, until, on his accession to the presidency, he presented himself as an applicant for a situation under the government. Mr. Jefferson's denial was peremptory; upon which Callender established at Richmond, and continued for several years, a literary vehicle of the vilest abuse of the president, and it is on the authority of this unprincipled miscreant that some have believed Mr. Jefferson was capable of hiring him to slander the name and character of Washington.

No man ever entertained more exalted ideas, or a better opinion of another, than Jefferson had uniformly done of General Washington; and, if his



signing the British treaty of 1794, be excepted, perhaps there was not a single instance in the Generals' life, of which Mr. Jefferson did not approve. But even on this occasion, although he did not approve the policy of the measure, and freely as he has even spoken of it, yet he never wrote, or caused to be published, a syllable of censure on it. The Duke de Liancourt is among the public witnesses of his habit of speaking in terms of the greatest respect and veneration of Washington; in favour of whom he has sometimes even departed from his plain republican notions. An instance of this kind, occurred but a few years since in a conversation with a gentleman, in which, among other topics, a discussion arose on the propriety of erecting monuments in honour of the great men of our country. Mr. Jefferson could not think the custom consonant to the simplicity of our manners or institutions, but at the same time agreed, that the character and services of Washington and Franklin, fully entitled them to be thus distinguished. It is an unquestionable truth, that General Washington and Mr. Jefferson were always cordial and sincere friends. Their intimacy, indeed, was no common one. They had been colleagues in the assembly of their native state, and in the national congress. During the revolutionary war when their public duties separated them, a friendly intercourse was maintained by letter. After the war, this correspondence still subsisted. On the delicate subject of the order of the Cincinnati the

most frank opinions were given and received, and after the return of General Washington from his tour through the western parts of New England and New York, extensive plans for the improvement of the country were proposed and canvassed. During the whole of the residence of Mr. Jefferson in France, the interchange of letters between them was uninterrupted, and whilst on his visit to the United States, it was only at the earnest entreaty of General Washington, that he accepted the office of Secretary of state. That the mutual esteem of these illustrious men was not diminished by the circumstances which lead to Mr. Jefferson's resignation, may be seen from their letters to each other which followed that event, and was particularly exemplified in their parting interview. Before they separated, General Washington, warmly pressing the hand of Mr. Jefferson, asked him if there was any thing in his power to bestow which would be acceptable, when the latter declined every offer, repeating his determination to retire to private life.

It is well known, that General Washington hesitated to serve a second time as president, although strongly solicited by the whole country, and it was principally owing to the representations and advice of Mr. Jefferson, that he at length consented to be re-elected.

After Mr. Jeffersons election as vice president in 1797, so far from the existence of any coolness between them, his visits to General Washington were

always productive of the sincerest pleasure to both. A marked attention was constantly paid to Mr. Jefferson. Every rite of the frankest hospitality was sedulously observed towards him, and he seldom was suffered to leave Mount Vernon except in the carriage of his friendly host. When it is considered that an intercourse of this nature was continued and maintained, up to near the lamented death of Washington, when the letter to Mr. Mazzei, and every report and rumour which circulated to Mr. Jeffersons prejudice must have been known to him, the conclusion is irresistible, that those who still affect to credit them, pay but an ill complement to the undoubted discernment of Washington, or to his well ascertained ingenueness of character.

It is indeed a melancholy reflection that a friendship so sacred, should be rudely violated by the hands of party. Party! a monster, which, without feeling or affection, is incapable of conceiving of their existence, and who perceives even the last sad duty of friendship weeping over the tomb of departed worth and greatness, only an act of hollow hypocrisy. But party spirit fades at the approach of truth. The shades are now rapidly passing away from before the character of Jefferson!

Of the domestic character, the attainments, and pursuits of Mr. Jefferson, much might be said. The opinions of distinguished foreigners have agreed always in placing him, in these, among the highest and the best. The marquis de Chastelleux

thus depicts him in his retirement at the close of the revolutionary war: "Let us describe to you a man, not yet forty, tall, and with a mild and pleasing countenance, whose mind and understanding are ample substitutes for every exterior grace. An American, who, without ever having quitted his own country, is at once a musician, skilled in drawing, a Geometrician, an astronomer, a natural philosopher, legislator and statesman, a senator of America, who set for two years in the famous congress which brought about the revolution, and which is never mentioned but with the most profound respect. A Governor of Virginia, who filled that difficult office, during the invasions of Arnold, of Phillips, and of Cornwallis; a philosopher in voluntary retirement from the world and public business because he loves the world only as he can flatter himself with being useful to mankind. A mild and amiable wife, charming children, of whose education he himself takes charge; a house to embellish, extensive improvements to make, and the arts and sciences to cultivate:" These are what remained to Mr. Jefferson at the time this character was drawn after having played a principle part in the theatre of the new world, and which he then preferred to the honourable commission of minister plenipotentiary to Europe. "His knowledge, indeed was universal, sometimes natural philosophy, and at others politics, or the arts, were the topics of conversation; and it seemed, as if from his youth, he had placed his mind, as he had

done his house, upon an elevated situation, from which he might contemplate the universe. His memory was wonderfully tenacious. All the elementary or light reading of his childhood ; the studies of youth and manhood, and the researches of his graver years were, to the last of his life, fresh in his recollection. Dates, which seem difficult to keep in mind, the most uncouth names of persons, places, and things, and the most trivial epitaph, and even common remarks in conversation, were remembered by him with such accuracy, that one would have thought that he found it impossible to forget any thing he had ever seen, heard or read. His memory was not of that desultory sort, which is sometimes found where the judgment is feeble, a simple power to retain without the faculty of classification, or arrangement ; but in the store house of his memory, every thing, however small, was laid up in proper order. He seemed to have the same controul over his thoughts, that a disciplinarian has over his men ; they came, retired, contracted, or scattered, were condensed in a column, or extended in a line at bidding. To the inequality of the power of fixing the mind on a subject offered for consideration, and in embodying and arranging the thoughts upon it may be attributed, more than to any other cause, the intellectual differences among men. On all questions, even the most difficult, he had such a rapid and intense contraction of thought, that there was an air of suddenness in his most sound and well matured

opinions of men and things; but amidst the oppositeness of his remarks, and the justness of his conclusions, he evinced a spirit of deep reflection, or of intuition.

In 1795, after his resignation as secretary of state, he is thus spoken of by the Duke de Liancourt, after receiving an eulogium on his public character;—"his conversation is of the most agreeable kind, and he possesses a stock of information not inferior to any other man."

Another foreigner, less distinguished but equally deserving of credit, adds his testimony to that of many others—"Of his private worth, of his wishes to do good; of his affability and condescension; his readiness to lend assistance where he knew it was wanted; and his delight to give praise where he thought it was deserved." "All know," continues he, "that his powers were vast, his acquirements various and solid, and I will add, that he applied them with unremitted diligence to those objects which he believed tended to the honour and welfare of his country; but it may not perhaps, be so generally understood that he was very assiduous in the more private duties of a benevolent nature; that he delighted in giving encouragement to any promise of ability, and assistance to any appearance of desert."

Mr. Jefferson was president of the American Philosophical society since the death of Dr. Rittenhouse, in 1776, and was likewise a member of many literary and scientific societies both in Europe and America.

There are but few persons, I believe who have done more to encrease and strengthen the ties which bind social man to man than Mr. Jefferson, and yet he has been accused of being a disorganizer, and his efforts to secure to every one permission to worship God agreeably to the dictates of his own conscience, has been stigmatized as *Deism* or *Atheism*. It is deplorable, indeed, that Mr. Jefferson, whom to know was to revere, who has been the admiration of all Europe, and who, with posterity, will rank with our Washington and Franklin, and with the ornaments and benefactors of the human race of every age, and every country, should have been made by his cotemporaries and countrymen, the butt and object of the vilest slanders. It is the dictate of retributive justice, that those who have been the means of this slander should be subjected to the scourge.

We could suffer, and even smile with complacency at false conceptions, low purility, pitiable ignorance, and ridiculous mistakes to remain uncensured, and to go down unrebuked, to oblivion. But when malice undertakes to spit her venom on what we view most venerable and sacred, when she attempts to asperse the great and the good; when she labours to disparage truth and excellence, and to give countenance to error and terpitude, however powerless may be the effort, it richly deserves chastisement, and the puny assailants of what should be revered and loved, ought to be held up to public abhorrence and scorn, before they be permitted to rot and be forgotten.


After Mr. Jefferson had prepared, and brought in a bill for establishing RELIGIOUS FREEDOM, which was passed in the assembly of Virginia, in the beginning of the year 1786; a gentleman of some literary acquirements wrote and published in a pamphlet of 80 pages, a number of essays, if they can be called by so mild a name, from which we extract the following remarks. "On Wednesday last a bill was drawn up and read in the assembly of this state, and on Saturday passed into a law, for establishing religious Freedom, by Thomas Jefferson Esqr. This gentleman with wonderful modesty claims to himself all the wisdom and learning, all the candour and courage in the world. He thinks that to him belongs all the earnest solicitude and all strenuous endeavours for the discovery of truth. The rest of mankind, if what he has written is to be credited, are the easy dupes of antiquated systems, the blind and bigotted adherents of musty creeds, the stupid and obstinate believers in absurd and unintelligible dogmas. He, in terms, says that they are degraded and pitiable beings, who suffer their minds to be held in leading-strings, mere children in understanding, who believe they know not what, and they know not why.

"Every prominent and fundamental doctrine of the gospel, he has ever laboured to set aside, all that relates to the dignity of Christ, to the object of his mission, to the conditions of salvation, to human depravity, and to the influences of the divine spirit,



he has been constantly at war with, and has used his best endeavours to strike them from the face of the earth.

“But let me ask the candid reader, if Mr. Jefferson’s rejection of the great doctrines of the trinity, of the atonement of Christ, of the original corruption and entire depravity of the unrenewed heart, of justification by the Redeemer’s righteousness, of regeneration by the special agency of the Holy Spirit, and of a state of interminable bliss, or endless woe, upon the close of life; does not constitute him indeed and in truth an atheist? For certainly if there are any essential principles of the gospel, these are of the number. Discard these principles, and you change the face of the religion of Christ. You undermine the basis, you tear away the pillars of the christian’s hope. You annul the charter of his privileges. You blot out the light that guides and cheers him, and you cast darkness and gloom over all his prospects. If there are no essential truths belonging to the gospel, the whole system is trivial and unimportant, as Mr. Jefferson has observed; but if there are, he is a high-handed offender against heaven, indeed, who dares to assail them thus!! This is the character of the man, who has introduced, into our assembly, a bill for establishing *Religious Freedom* in opinion and sentiment; yea, he is the very man who, in his notes on Virginia, has observed, “It matters not to me whether my neighbour believes in one God, twenty Gods, or no God; it neither picks my pockets nor breaks my legs.”



“That it is the design of the author of this bill, to brand if possible, all those precious truths of God’s word, which the pious in every age, have received as venerable and sacred, have embraced and loved, and have found the support and rejoicing of their hearts, is a fact that no one who reads it will deny. The assertion that the cry of heresy is always raised against those who do not openly avow these great truths of religion, which we have named, we boldly aver, is a bare faced and notorious falshood. The cry is simply raised against those who have adopted principles grossly corrupt and deleterious, like our author, principles laying the axe at the root of religion and virtue. The insinuation which is made, that a spirit of usurpation and intolerance, now actuates the friends of orthodoxy is base and groundless. The attempt of Mr. Jefferson, to fix upon them this odious epithet, and by that means to subject them to reproach and hatred, is one of the foul and unprincipled artifices, to which malignity has often resorted, to hunt down a class of men, *of whom the world is not worthy.*”

The utmost extent of the wishes of our clergymen is the liberty of excluding from our religious societies, these who embrace tenets, in their view, at war with pure christianity and subversive of vital godliness ; tenets, dangerous to the souls of men, and destructive of human virtue and felicity. This liberty, certainly, cannot be denied them, without infringing the unalienable rights of conscience, and

compelling them to acknowledge that individual, as a brother, and to extend to him the hand of fellowship, of whom they are persuaded, that he is an enemy of the cross of Christ, that he is undermining the best interests of man for this life, and blighting his best hops for the eternal world."

Without making any remarks upon the spirit and temper in which these essays appear to have been written; I rejoice in God, that our national and state constitutions secure, as far as human writing's go, our religious liberties with magnanimous and christian liberality. But though guarded by even this Palladium, yet were the church allied to the state and armed with its power; those who should dare think for themselves, and not of the denomination protected by law, would soon find out whether they had the couarge of martyrs.

Mr. Jefferson has observed in one of his private letters, "that the writer of these essays was the first man who ever called in question his religious sentiments, and much more, that ever branded him with the appellation of *Atheist*." He further observes, "from my earliest youth I have ever had a great and reverential regard, for religion and for the ordinances of God: but at the same time, I do believe that there are those *who are set for a defence of the gospel, who abuse its privileges, and trample upon the sacred rights of conscience*. For it will be acknowledged by all, that conscience is the throne of God in the heart of man; and whoever requires a violation of conscience, requires

more than ever God did: But it was to guard against these trampplers upon the rights of conscience, that the bill for establishing religious Freedom in this state, was introduced into the house: and whether it will prove beneficial or injurious to society generally, must be left to God and posterity." As the previous remarks quoted from the pamphlet, were principally founded on the bill for establishing religious freedom in the state of Virginia, we will subjoin the act for the benefit of our readers, many of whom, perhaps, have never seen it: *An ACT for establishing RELIGIOUS FREEDOM, passed in the assembly of Virginia, in the beginning of the year 1786.*

Well aware that Almighty God hath created the mind free; that all attempts to influence it by temporal punishments or burdens, or by civil incapacitations, tend only to beget habits of hypocrisy and meanness, and are a departure from the plan of the Holy Author of our religion, who being Lord both of body and mind, yet chose not to propagate it by coercions on either, as was in his Almighty power to do; that the impious presumption of legislators and rulers, civil as well as ecclesiastical, who, being themselves but fallible and uninspired men have assumed dominion over the faith of others, setting up their own opinions and modes of thinking as the only true and infallible, and as such endeavouring to impose them on others, hath established and maintained false religions over the greatest part of the world, and through all time;

that to compel a man to furnish contributions of money for the propagation of opinions which he disbelieves, is sinful and tyrannical; that even the forcing him to support this or that teacher not of his own persuasion, is depriving him of the comfortable liberty of giving his contributions to the particular pastor whose morals he would make his pattern, and whose powers he feels most persuasive to righteousness, and is withdrawing from the ministry those temporal rewards, which proceeding from an approbation of their personal conduct, are an additional incitement to earnest and unremitting labors for the instruction of mankind; that our civil rights have no dependance on our religious opinions, more than our opinions, in physics or geometry; that therefore the proscribing any citizen as unworthy the public confidence by laying upon him an incapacity of being called to offices of trust and emolument, unless he profess or renounce this or that religious opinion, is depriving him injuriously of those privileges and advantages to which in common with his fellow citizens he has a natural right; that it tends also to corrupt the principles that very religion it is ment to encourage, by bribing, with a monopoly of worldly honors and emoluments, those who will externally profess and conform to it; that though indeed these are criminal who do not withstand such temptation, yet neither are those innocent who lay the bait in their way; that to suffer the civil magistrate to intrude his powers into the field of opi-

nion and to restrain the profession or propagation of principles, on supposition of their ill tendency, is a dangerous fallacy, which at once destroys all religious liberty, because he being of course judge of the ill tendency, will make his opinions the rule of others, and approve or condemn the sentiments of others only as they shall square with or conform to his own; that it is time enough for the legislative purposes of civil government, for its officials to interfere when principles break out into overt acts against peace and good order; and finally, that truth is great and will prevail if left to herself, that she is the proper and sufficient antagonist to error, and has nothing to fear from the conflict, unless by human interposition disarmed of her natural weapons, free argument and debate, errors ceasing to be dangerous when it is permitted freely to contradict them.

*Be it therefore enacted by the General Assembly,*  
That no man shall be compelled to frequent or support any religious worship, place or ministry whatsoever, nor shall be enforced, restrained, molested, or burthened in his body or goods, nor shall otherwise suffer on account of his religious opinions or belief; but that all men shall be free to profess, and by argument to maintain, their opinions in matters of religion and that the same shall in no wise diminish, enlarge, or affect their civil capacities.

And though we will know that this assembly, elected by the people for the ordinary purposes of

legislator only, have no power to restrain the acts of succeeding assemblies, constituted with powers equal to our own, and that therefore to declare this act irrevocable, would be of no effect in law, yet we are free to declare, and do declare, that the rights hereby asserted are of the natural rights of mankind, and that if any act shall be hereafter passed to repeal the present or narrow its operation, such act will be an infringement of natural right.

Mr. Jefferson further remarks in his private letter before quoted : " As to what Mr. S—— has observed of my writings, in regard to sending the gospel among the heathen, in his tenth Essay, I now (1824) strenuously maintain the same doctrine, that I have always maintained, viz. that it is the diffusion of science and of the arts alone, which can melt the fierceness of the savage into mildness, and brighten his ignorance into wisdom—which can dissolve the bonds of immoral and inveterate prejudice, and burst asunder the shackles of rigid and obstinate habits, and prove the only means of effecting a melioration of his character, and an improvement of his condition, redeeming him from the rank of a "brutal adjunct to enlightened and civilized man," to intelligence and humanity, to virtue and happiness. And when the useful arts shall have increased the means of substance, when something like science shall have thrown light into their darkened minds, when civilization shall have produced order and laid restraints upon the wild passions, then the mild reli-

gion of the Redeemer can be introduced with salutary effects, and be made to yield a rich harvest of christian virtues, producing purity light and felicity, savoring of heaven and worthy of its origin."

The reader is only requested to compare the act for establishing religious Freedom, with the Essays that were written against it, to be perfectly convinced that the latter are nothing but a tissue of falsehood and misrepresentation. An instructed performer may mistake loud sounds for all the harmony of which a fine instrument is capable, and the harp of David may speak discord to our ears if pressed by unskilful fingers. Yet it is notorious that by far the greater number of these theorists in religion, who would mould our plastic minds to conformity with their crude opinions, are the best of them but inadequately acquainted with the original language in which the mosiac laws were written, and the major part of whom totally ignorant of the great family of oriental languages, where the high collateral evidences of the sacred book are to be found. Mischievous as the intentions of many of these innovations are, and deserving of the severest reprehension, yet it is always better that those who love and believe the sacred word from conviction of grace and knowledge, should extend a spirit of christian moderation and charity toward them as Mr. Jefferson had done. The exposition of their blind ignorance will be co-extensive with the progress of human learning, which is always aspiring, and always ad-



vancing. Their pertinacity in vindicating erroneous opinions will stimulate men to examine for themselves, and as the conflict shall eventually force men to look well and truly into the primary sources of evidence, it will be found that the teachers of these doctrines will have enabled more than the number of their disciples, to become acquainted with those which are true, and thus the knowledge of the true religion will even be forwarded by the labours of a superficial Volney, a conceited Priestly, and a blasphemous Paine.

Mr. Jefferson was a man of a large, capacious, powerful, and highly cultivated intellect. No man's knowledge was more sound, or more useful, or more plain:—No man's knowledge could be in more connected and tangible masses:—No man could be more perfectly master of his ideas, could reason upon them more closely, or decide upon them more impartially. He was acquainted with the opinions and sentiments of the best authors, with the maxims of the most profound politicians with the causes of the rise and fall of states, with the general passions of men; with the characters of different nations, and the laws and constitutions of his own country.

If to this we add the ardour and natural impetuosity of his mind, his quick sensibility, his eagerness in the defence of truth, and his impatience of every thing that looked like trick or artifice or affectation, we shall be able in some measure to account for his preparing and introducing this bill

into the legislature of Virginia.

Mr. Jefferson was what is understood by a plain matter of fact reasoner. He was as well acquainted with the concrete masses of things, their substantial forms, and practical connections, as with their abstract nature or general diffinitions. He was a man of extensive information, of sound knowledge, and clear understanding, as well as the acute observer and the profound thinker. He was the man of business, the accomplished statesman, as well as the Philosopher. His reasonings were generally speaking, calculations of certain positive results which, the date being given, must follow as matters of course, as well as remote truths drawn from a deep insight into human nature, and the subtle application of general principles to particular cases. They consisted in the detail and combination of a vast number of items in an account worked by the known rules of Political arithmetic, as well as in the bold, comprehensive, and original theorms of science. He was the attentive observer, who watched the various effects and successive movements of a machine already constructed, and could tell how to manage it, while it went on as it ought, and who knew well the principles on which it was constructed, and how to set it right if it became disordered.

I will not undertake to inquire whether Mr. Jefferson was a man of strict moral principles ; or more properly, how far he was one of those who, screw themselves up to a certain pitch of ideal per-

fection, who as it were, set themselves in the stocks of morality, and make mouths of their own situation. He was not one of that tribe, and shall not be tried by their self-denying ordinances. But he was endowed with one of the most excellent natures, that ever fell to the lot of any man. It has been said that an "honest man is the noblest work of God."—

There is indeed a purity, a rectitude, an integrity of heart, a freedom from every selfish bias and sinister motive, a manly simplicity and noble disinterestedness of feeling which is, in my opinion, to be preferred before every other gift of nature or art. There is a greatness of soul that is superior to all the brilliancy of the understanding. The strength of moral character, which is not only a more valuable but a rarer quality than strength of understanding (as we are oftener lead astray by the narrowness of our feelings than want of knowledge) Mr. Jefferson possessed in the highest degree. He was superior to every kind of jealousy, of suspicion of malevolence; to every narrow and sordid motive. He was perfectly above every species of duplicity, of low art and cunning. He judged of every thing in the downright sincerity of his nature, without being able to impose upon himself by any hollow disguise, or to lend his support to any thing unfair or dishonourable. He had an innate love of truth, of justice, of probity, of whatever was generous or liberal. Neither his education, nor his connections, nor his situation in

life, nor the low intrigues and virulence of party could ever alter the simplicity of his taste, nor the candid openness of his nature. There was an elastic force about his heart, a freshness of social feeling, a warm glowing humanity, which remained unimpaired to the last. He was by nature a gentleman. By this I mean he felt a certain deference and respect for every man; he had an unaffected frankness and benignity in his behaviour to others, the utmost liberality in judging of their conduct and motives. In fine, he was a true friend to his country as far as it is possible for a statesman to be so. His sentiments in religion were not derived, as some have vainly imagined, from his knowledge and admiration of the material world. He believed in the christian revelation. Of this he gave many proofs, not only in the conformity of his life to the precepts of the gospel, but in his letters and conversations with distinguished individuals, eminent for their piety and virtue. A gentleman of Virginia, in a letter to the author upon this subject observes; "I well recollect in speaking to me of the truth and excellency of the christian religion, he mentioned as a proof of its divine origin, that the miracles of our Saviour differed from all other miracles, in being entirely of a kind and benevolent nature."

It is no small triumph to the friends of revelation to observe, in this age, that our religion has been admitted, and even defended, by men of the most exalted understandings, and of the strongest rea-

soning powers. The single testimony of Mr. Jefferson in its favour, outweighs the declamations of whole nations against it.

As the natural effect of his belief in the relation of the whole human race to each other in a common Father, he embraced the whole family of mankind in the arms of his benevolence. The force and extent of this virtue in his heart, will appear conspicuous to every one, in all his writings. But the Philanthropy of Mr. Jefferson did not consist simply in wishes for the happiness of mankind. He reduced this divine principle to practise by a series of faithful and disinterested services to that part of his fellow creatures, to which the usefulness of good men is chiefly directed. His country, his beloved country, was the object of the strongest affections of his heart. For her, he thought,—for her, he laboured,—and for her, in the hours of her difficulties and dangers, he wept,—in every stage of the American revolution.

The year of the declaration of independence, which changed our royal governments into *republics*, produced no change in his political principles, for he had been educated a republican by his father. I can never forget, says an ingenious correspondent, the pleasure with which he avowed his early but secret attachment to an elective and representative form of government. Often have I heard him, in the days of my youth, predict the immense increase of talents and knowledge which would be produced by the strength and activity that would

be infused into the American mind, by our republican constitutions. Often, likewise, at the same remote period of time, have I heard him anticipate with delight, the effects of our revolution in sowing the seeds of a new order of things in other parts of the world. He believed political, as well as moral evil, to be intruders into the society of men,—that general happiness was the original design, and ultimate end of the divine government, and that a time would come, when every part of our globe, would echo back the heavenly proclamation of universal peace on earth, and good will to man.

Let it not be said, that he departed from the duties of a philosopher, by devoting the best part of a long and useful life to the safety and happiness of his country. The obligations of patriotism are as universal and binding, as those of justice and benevolence, and the virtuous propensities of the human heart are as much resisted by every individual who neglects the business of his country, as they are by the extinction of the domestic affections in a cell. Man was made for a republic, and a republic, was made for man, otherwise Divine Power and goodness would have been waisted, in the creation and gift of his public affections.—

But his talents and knowledge were not limited to any one subject, his mind was a repository of the knowledge of all ages and countries. He had early and deeply studied most of the different systems of theology. He was well versed in practical metaphysics. In reading voyages and travels

he took great delight. From them he drew a large fund of the natural history of our globe. He possessed some talent for music, but the more serious and necessary pursuits of his life, prevented his devoting much time to the cultivation of it. The muse of Thomson charmed him most. He admired his elegant combination of Philosophy and poetry. However opposed these studies may appear, they alike derive their perfection from extensive and accurate observations of the works of nature.

It will be but justice to the citizens of the United States to add, that they were not insensible to the merit of Mr. Jefferson. Inventions and improvements in every art and science, were frequently submitted to his examination, and were afterwards patronized by the public, according as they were approved of by him. But his reputation was not confined to his own country. His name was known and admired in every region of the earth, where science and genius are cultivated and respected.

Mr. Jefferson married on new-years-day 1772, the daughter of Mr. Wayles, an eminent lawyer of Virginia. "This union was to him a source of the greatest comfort ever after. Added to an affectionate admiration of his talents, she possessed accomplishments, good sense, goodness of heart, and a sweetness of manners and disposition which served to allay many of the anxieties of his future life,—his labours for the good of his country, the fretful moments attendant on severe study, the ir-

ritation produced by party and political zeal, and the tempestuous passions engendered by constant contentions in active business. He repeatedly declared that "every care vanished the moment he entered under his own roof." To his friends also, the earliest as well as the latest, she was equally the theme of praise. Men of genius are seldom so fortunate in their partners; by nature an ideal race, they look perhaps for more perfections than commonly fall to the lot of humanity, and expecting to meet with angles, are sadly disappointed in finding mere women.

I'll leave you then and from the Bride's bright eye,  
A happier omen take which cannot lie,  
Of growing time, still growing in delight,  
Of rounds of future years all mark'd with white,  
Through whose bright circles, free from envious chance,  
Concord and love shall lead an endless dance,

What is the monarch's crown, the shepherd's ease,  
The hero's laurel, and the poet's bays?  
A load of toilsome life too dull to bear,  
If heaven's indulgence did not add the fair;  
E'en Eden's sweets our Adam did dispise,  
All his gay scenes could not delight his eyes,  
Woman God gave, and then 'twas Paradise.

Another Eve and Paradise are thine,  
May'st thou be father of as long a line!  
Your heart so fixed on her, and hers on you,  
As if the world afforded but the two,  
That to this age your constancy may prove,  
There yet remains on earth a power call'd love."



In the autumn of 1782, he had the misfortune to lose his amiable and gentle companion, when the charge of two lovely daughters devolved on him alone.

Of these ladies one was married to John W. Eppes, who has since been so highly distinguished in public life:—Mrs. Eppes died leaving two children, one of whom yet survives—The other daughter is the amiable wife of Thomas M. Randolph, who has a son residing in the vicinity of Monticello, who smoothed with flowers, his grand-fathers decline to the tomb.

In this enlightened age, philosophy has investigated truth with great success, overtaken her in many of her evasions, and discovered her in almost every subterfuge. But there is one case, say the batchelors, in which she still eludes the strictest researches, and yet secures her retreat. Matrimony and celibacy, say they, even yet contend for the precedency. Truth lurks, philosophy is at her *ne plus ultra*, and her sons are yet divided on the subject.

The contest is serious for it extends to practise; we see some approaching the verge of life, unmarried; and children in their teens witnessing their sage approbation of hymen's bands by their venerable examples. The decision of this dispute, which involves in it the happiness of man, is of ultimate importance.

But let me apprise the batchelor, while he continues in his life of *single blessedness*, as he would

call it, without any object on which to place his affections, or to bestow his kindnesses, that his whole intellectual stock is egotism; his possessions, a large store of vanity; his education whither simple or compound is almost useless. They may murmur against the disagreeable formalities of introduction, the difficulties of acquaintance, and the tedium of courtship, which retard their matrimonial pursuit, but if they have not courage to stem the torrent manfully, they are altogether unworthy of a virtuous wife; for we always value men, not for their indolence and inactivity, but in proportion to their fortitude in encountering the evils of human life. If you have so much impudence as to avow your reluctance to involve yourselves in the cares the distresses, the hopes and fears, which are the inseparable attendants of genuine love, depend upon it, you will never obtain a wife who is worthy your acceptance. These proignant feelings are the grand preliminaries of permanent love; they are as essential to its growth, as rain is to vegetation; and if you have too much impatience or timidity to pass through this ordeal, you may never expect if you get a wife, to enjoy the exquisite endearments and supreme delight of souls that have previously demonstrated the ardency of their affections.

In the more limited circles of private life, Mr. Jefferson commanded universal esteem and affection; as a neighbour he was kind and charitable. His sympathy extended in a certain degree to dis-

trass of every kind, but it was excited with the most force, and kindest effects, to the weakness, pain, and poverty of old age. As a friend he was sincere, ardent, and disinterested. As a companion he instructed on all subjects.

His family constituted his chief society, and the most intimate circles of his friends: although frequently visited by travellers, and persons of distinction from every part of the world. When the declining state of his health, rendered the solitude of his study, less agreeable than in former years, he passed his evenings in conversation with his daughters and grand children, or in reading some interesting books in the sciences or arts.

The house, and manner of living, of our President, exhibited the taste of a philosopher, the simplicity of a republican, and the temper, and disposition of a christian.

His economy extended to a wise and profitable use of his time. No man ever found him unemployed. As an apology for detaining a friend a few minutes, who had called upon him, while he arranged some papers he had been examining, he said, "that he had once thought health the greatest blessing in the world, but that he now thought there was one thing of greater value, and that was time."

Here I expected to have finished the detail of his virtues, but in the neighbourhood of that galaxy created by their connected lustre, I behold a virtue of enestimable value, twinkling, like a rare,

and solitary star. This is his superlative modesty. This heaven born virtue was so conspicuous in every part of his conduct, that he appeared not so much to conceal, as to be ignorant of his superiority as a philosopher and a man, over the greatest part of his fellow creatures.

Who can read his inaugural address as vice-president of the United States, without being fully convinced that he possessed this heavenly and divine attribute, in a superlative degree. After Mr. Adams had delivered his speech, as president, the oath was then administered to Mr. Jefferson, when he took the chair, and delivered the following address:

Gentlemen of the Senate,

“Entering on the duties of the office to which I am called, I feel it incumbent on me to appologize to this honourable house for the insufficient manner in which I fear they may be discharged. At an earlier period of my life, and through some considerable portion of it, I have been a member of legislative bodies, and not altogether inattentive to the forms of their proceedings; but much time has elapsed since that, other duties have occupied my mind, and in a great degree it has lost its similarity with this subject. I fear that the house will have but to frequent occasion to perceive the truth of this acknowledgment. If a diligent attention, however, will enable me to fulfil the functions now assigned me, I may promise that diligence and attention shall be sedulously employed. For one portion of my duty I shall engage with more

confidence, because it will depend on my will, and not on my capacity. The rules which are to govern the proceedings of this house, so far as they shall depend on me for their application, shall be applied with the most rigorous and inflexible impartiality, regarding neither persons, their views nor principles, and seeing only the abstract proposition subject to my decision. If in forming that decision, I concur with some and differ from others, as must of necessity happen, I shall rely on the liberality and candour of those from whom I differ, to believe that I do it on pure motives."

"I might here procede, and with the greatest truth, to declare my zealous attachment to the constitution of the United States; that I consider the union of these states as the first of blessings, and as the first of duties the preservation of that constitution which secures it, but I suppose these declarations not pertinent to the occasion of entering into an office whose primary business is merely to preside over the forms of this house; and no one more sincerely prays that no accident may call me to the higher and more important functions which the constitution eventually devolves on this office. These have been justly confided to the eminent character which has preceeded me here, whose talents and integrity have been known and revered by me through a long course of years, and have been the foundation of a cordial and uninterrupted friendship between us, and I devoutly pray he may be long preserved for the government, the happiness and prosperity of our common country."

As a statesman Mr. Jefferson's distinguishing policy may be traced in his writings, and in the several changes which took place during his administration. These as forming a valuable manual for reference to the future legislators of our country, will be consulted for the opinions they teach, and the difficulties they tend to solve; his writings, for their vigour and eloquence as compositions, for clear and enlarged views on constitutional subjects, for a thorough acquaintance with the duties of rulers and subjects in their various relations of obedience and control. It is more than probable, that to all his ideas on these points universal assent may not be given, nor was their justice always admitted at the time. But experience has long since proved that they were grounded in sound judgment, in a penetrating and perspective spirit—the first qualities beyond all others for those who fill public stations, and for the want of which no others can compensate—and in a wisdom not abstruse or perplexed, but in its application obvious and easy.

It was peculiar to him—one of the many distinctions which belong to his character—that, possessed of a fancy and an imagination singularly brilliant, of vast stores of knowledge, of a liberal and philosophical turn of mind, added to having passed much time in close and laborious application to books—all the elements which unite to compose a beautiful system-maker and imposing theorist, produced to him a directly opposite effect.

He would admit of no innovating speculations into the business of government. He was, if any man was, a practical man. He, at all times built, as the wise in all ages had done, on history and experience. He entertained for the institutions of our country, for its constitution and forms of government, as they were planed and fixed by the general congress, the same respect and admiration which all sober men feel when these institutions have been productive of good; and as long as the effects continued the same, he disapproved of attempts to alter the practice.

His aim therefore, in our domestic policy was to preserve things in the main, as they were, for the simple reason that under it the nation was becoming great, prosperous and happy. Not to shut our eyes to abuse—for he was opposed to abuses—but to amend deliberately and cautiously; to innovate, not at all, for innovation was not reformation; to overturn nothing which had the sanction of time and many happy days in its favour; to correct and perfect the superstructures, but to leave all the foundations, the antiquity was a guarantee of their stability in opinion, sacred and unharmed. “He did not regard a form of government as good because it was plausible upon paper, but rather looked to its workings; to effects rather than to principles; to benefit to the people, as it was obvious to the sense; rather than to perfection in the theories on which it was believed to be founded. He believed that no material alteration in the mode of

governing this community could take place without danger; and the event of our revolutionary struggle, evinced the accuracy of this opinion."

The natural frame of his politics indeed was of the most expanded cast. He always contended for a liberal and conciliatory line of conduct in national questions, a disregard of small and temporary benefits for the sake of great and permanent interests, and always thought that England had lost by her selfishness, but could never have sustained injury by a course of kindness and generosity.

Mr. Jefferson has always been a true patriot, a warm friend to his country, and his exertions in her cause have been ardent and unremitted. And he lived long enough to find himself acknowledged in a measure the great prince of political prophets. He had arrived at an age too when the judgment, in matters of government, is out of the reach of the crude and indigested schemes and more juvenile follies; when the lust of innovation, if it had ever prevailed in the mind, is cooled by the calculations of experience. His practical knowledge of states, and governments, and the conflicting interests and passions of politicians, had been laboriously earned, his observation keen; his powers to combine, analyze, and deduce important truths from the contemplation of the whole, great, as it appeared beyond example. Looking at such a man in the abstract, without previously knowing the part he *did take*, no doubt could be entertained of the part he *would take*. And during the eight



years he presided over the destinies of this country; if “an equal and impartial regard to the rights, interests, honor and happiness of all the states in the union, without preference or regard to a northern or southern, an eastern or western position, their various political opinions on unessential points, or their personal attachments; if a love of virtuous men of all parties and denominations; if a love of science and letters, and a wish to patronize every rational effort to encourage schools, colleges, universities, academies, and every institution for propagating knowledge, virtue, and religion among all classes of people: not only for their benign influence on the happiness of life, in all its stages and classes, and of society in all its formes; but as the only means of preserving our constitution from its natural enemies, the spirit of sophistry, the spirit of party, the spirit of intrigue, the profligacy of corruption, and the pestilence of foreign influence, which is the angel of destruction to elective governments; if a love of equal laws, of justice and humanity, in the interior administration; if an inclination to improve agriculture, commerce and manufactures, for necessity, convenience or defence; if a spirit of equity and humanity towards the aboriginal nations of America, and a disposition to meliorate their condition, by inclining them to be more friendly to us, and our citizens to be more friendly to them; if an inflexible determination to maintain peace and inviolable faith, with all nations, and that system of neutral-

ity and impartiality, among the billigreant powers of Europe, which has been adopted by this government, and applauded by the legislatures of the several states and the public opinion, until it should be otherwise ordained by congress; if a personal esteme for the French nation, formed in a residence of a length of time among them, and a sincere desire to preserve the friendship which has been so much for the honour and interests of both nations; if the conscious honour and integrity of the people of America, and the internal sentiment of their own power and energies must be preserved, and an earnest endeavour to investigate every just cause and remove every colourable pretence of complaint; if an intention to pursue, by amicable negotiation, a reparation for the injuries that had been committed on the commerce of our fellow-Citizens by whatever nation; and if success cannot be obtained, to lay the facts before the legislature, that they may consider what further measures the honour, and interest of the government and its constituents demand; if a resolution to do justice as far as depended on him at all times and to all nations, and maintain peace, friendship and benevolence with all the world; if an unshaken confidence in the honor, spirit, and resources of the American people, on which he often hazarded his all, and had never been deceived; if elevated ideas of the high destinies of this country, and his own duties towards it, founded on a knowledge of the moral principles and intellectual improvements of the

people, deeply engraven on his mind in early life, and not obscured but exalted by experience and age;—And with humble reverence it is my duty to add, if a veneration for the religion of a people who profess and call themselves Christians, and a fixed resolution to consider a decent respect for christianity, among the best recommendations for the public service ; if all these could enable him in any degree to comply with the wishes of this country, in discharging the high and important duties of chief magistrate of the United States, he did it to their most perfect satisfaction.”

This, says the same elegant author, “ was the course pursued by Mr. Jefferson ; and although his administration was not entirely free from errors and defects, yet they were errors of the head, not of the heart.”

After Mr. Jeffersons retirement to private life, in 1809, instead of relaxing his ardour in the cause of his country, and of beneficence and of charity, it was more keenly set. Few things indeed which concerned the business, the well-being or the wants of men generally, or of those more immediately around him, escaped his diligent research. He surprised a distinguished literary friend, who visited him about this time, by his entering into a history of the progress of farming, of the improvements in agriculture and of the country, during a few of the past years, with even that fullness of a farmer, whose life had been spent in attending to little else.

Notwithstanding the vast number of requisites, possessed by Mr. Jefferson, which go to the formation of a distinguished political character, we find him on a level, or above most of his cotemporaries in public life, there are others of no small moment in which comparison tells still further to his advantage.

As a writer it is scarcely necessary to advert to his vast superiority. Mr. Jefferson was rapid in composition, though patient in careful revision, and independent of mere literary execution, there are perhaps more traces of vigour and originality of mind in any one of his writings, than can be found in the same compass in almost any work. As a philosophical critic, and in that general truth of deduction from experience and from appearances, whether in the moral, natural, or political world, which constitutes the philosopher, his superiority is equally incontestible. He excelled most of his countrymen in a fine and correct taste for the arts. In classical learning he was at least on a par with them ; and in classical criticism, he had greatly the advantage in depth and ingenuity. Even in his epistolary communications, the business of some men, and the occasional occupation of all, the same marked superiority, whither in the familiar letter or the more formal exposition of public business, is as obvious as in any other of his talents. Added to this, his almost thorough acquaintance with the modern languages, and partic-

ularly in the French and Spanish he was not surpassed by any American. But I have already trespassed on the limits I had prescribed myself in this work, and will now speak of Mr. Jefferson towards the closing scenes of his mortal career.

In the summer of the present year, he was attacked with the summer complaint, which kept him very low for a considerable length of time, but no fears were entertained of his speedy desolution. Towards the latter part of June the disease assumed a more inveterate form, and great fears were entertained by his daughter, and grand children, and even Doct. Dounlison of the University who attended him, that he would not live to see the approaching annaversary of our deliverance, as a nation, from the grasp of British despotism. He spake of the coming jubilee with great composure, and recounted to his friends who occasionally called upon him, the part he bore in our national struggle for independence. He frequently alluded, towards the latter part of his sickness, to his departure from the world, and remarked, "it would be but by a graceful remove, from painful labour, to quiet rest, from unquiet desire, to happy contentment; from sorrow, to joy; and from transitory time, to immortality."


He lingered, however, until the 4th of July; and about ten minutes past one o'clock of that day, just fifty years from the time the declaration of independence was read in the State House yard of this city, he bid adieu to his family, to his country,

in whose service he had spent the best part of his useful life, to terrestrial scenes and enjoyments, and was gathered to his father and his God!!

The following are the more minute particulars of the departure of this great man, from the pen of H. Lee, Esq. an eye witness of the scene.

Upon arriving at Charlottesville, on the 27th. June although it was reported that Mr. Jefferson was sick, the account seemed neither so definite nor alarming, as to render it proper that I should forego the object of my journey. I, therefore, addressed a note to him, signifying my arrival, and readiness to await on him next day, or any other day of that week, which might be more agreeable to him. Next morning Mr. Trist called on me, confirmed the account I had before received, and said that Mr. J. had desired that I would dine at Monticello that day or the preceeding. The preceeding day was the Thursday before his death; and when it came, seemed to be the general impression around me, that the life of the Patriarch was in danger. I, therefore determined to call in the forenoon, and in case his indisposition continued to be serious, to return before dinner to Charlottesville. As I approached the house, the anxiety and distress visible in the countenance of the servants, increased the gloom of my own forebodings, and I entered it under no little agitation. After the object of my early call was made known to Mrs. Randolph, she told me that, although her father had been expecting to see me, he was then

too unwell to receive any one. It was but to evident that the fears of his daughter overbalanced her hopes, and while sympathising in her distress, I could not help sighing, to think that, although separated from him only by a thin wall, I was never more to behold the venerable man, who had entered all the walks of politics and philosophy, and in all was foremost—and to whom, the past and the present, and all the future ages are, and will be, so much indebted.—However Mrs. Randolph having left me, to attend to her father, soon returned, and observed that she had taken it for granted that he could not see me; but upon her casually mentioning my arrival, he had desired I should be invited into his chamber. My emotions at approaching *Jefferson's dying bed*, I cannot describe. You remember the alcove in which he slept. There he was extended—feeble, prostrate; but the fine and clear expression of his countenance not at all obscured. At the first glance he recognised me, and his hand and voice at once saluted me. The energy of his grasp, and the spirit of his conversation, were such as to make me hope he would yet rally—and that the superiority of mind over matter in his composition, would preserve him yet longer. He regretted that I should find him so helpless—said if he got well I should see all the papers he had promised. He talked of the freshet which was then prevailing in James River—of its extensive devastation, and said he had never known a more destructive one. He soon, however, passed to



the University, expatiated on its future utility—said its cost would not altogether, exceed 320,000 dollars; commended the professors, and expressed satisfaction at the progress of the students.—A sword was suspended at the foot of his bed, which he told me was presented to him by (I think) an Arabian Chief, and that the blade was a true Damascus. At this time he became so cheerful as to smile, even to laughing, at a remark I made.—He alluded to the probability of his death—as a man would to the prospect of being caught in a shower—as an event not to be desired, but not to be feared. It was to be apprehended that the eagerness with which he conversed, would exhaust him, and therefore, I could not indulge myself with a long interview. Upon proposing to withdraw, I observed that I would call to see him again. He said, well do—but you will dine here to day.” To this I replied, “I proposed deferring that pleasure until he got better.” He waved his hand and shook his head with some impatience, saying, emphatically—“you *must* dine here—my sickness makes no difference.” I consented, left him and never saw him more. I observed that he kept the flies off himself, and seemed to decline assistance from his attendants. Mrs. Randolph afterwards told me this was his habit—that his plan was to fight old age off, by never admitting the approach of helplessness, and he was, moreover, exceedingly averse to giving trouble. From the interview, I conceived strong hopes of his recovering, and when



after dinner, I conversed with his Physician, Dr. Dunglison of the University, these hopes were rendered more sanguine. For he seemed to think his disease was conquered, and that he had nothing but the inelastic state of age to fear. Mrs. Randolph and the family soon appeared to feel the diffusion of these hopes—which were but too fallacious.

#### CONCLUSION.

“Sweet solitude! when life’s gay flowers are past,  
How’er we range in thee we fix at last,  
Toss’ed through tempestuous seas, the voyage now o’er  
Pale we look back, and bless thy friendly shore.  
Our own strict judges, our past life we scan,  
And ask if glory has enlarg’d the span :  
If bright the prospect, we the grave defy,  
Trust future ages and contented die.”

The cold maxims of philosophy may teach mankind to survey the ruins of empires and the desolation of countries unmingled with regret. These alas are but the monuments of ancient splendor and glory, and at once bespeak the awful destiny of nations. But to dwell upon the remembrance of so distinguished an individual, as the subject of this memoir has been universally acknowledged to be; distinguished in the cabinet of his country, distinguished as a firm and undeviating republican, “in a time that tried men’s souls;” distinguished as the vindicator of his country’s rights, during her infantile state, and just as she was struggling, as it were, into existence, against the gigantic strides

of British despotism and British tyranny in our land ; where alas shall our country discover a solace, where shall terminate the remembrance of her wo for the loss of such a man ! But nature in a period of two or three thousand years, seems at proper intervals to produce great minds with an effect resembling that which introduces the vicissitudes of seasons. They rise up at once, continue for an age, enlighten the world, fall like the ripened corn, and mankind relapse again into their former pristine state. We look around, are amazed at the decline, seek after the causes of this visible decay, attribute to want of encouragement, what really proceeds from want of power ; are astonished to find every art and every science in the decline, not considering that autumn is over, and fatigued nature begins to repose for some succeeding effort.

Some periods have been remarkable for the production of men of extraordinary stature : others for excessive plenty : and others again for famine. Nature, when she shows herself so very different in her visible productions, must surely differ also from herself in the production of minds ; and, while she astonishes one age with the strength and stature of a Milo, or a Maximian, may bless another with the wisdom of a Plato or the goodness of an Antonine.

When we look back upon the eminent services of Mr. Jefferson in the cause of his country, when not one one lambent ray of peaceful sun-shine had

ever shone through the dark and gloomy haze which overspread its horizon, when all the ravages of disastrous warfare, all the spoliations of desperate and bloody faction, announced no symptom of exhausted resources, no appearance of diminished intrigue, no period to the convulsions which agitated her bosom, and which seemed to threaten her speedy desolation, who but must acknowledge him to be the great man of our time, the great political father of our country.

Mr. Jefferson has done all possible honour to himself as governor of his native state, as a senator in congress, and as a private citizen; and the American people must approve of his conduct as the result of an enlightened loyalty to his country, through its widely extended empire; a jealous and watchful care of the liberties of his fellow men; an enlarged and liberal understanding of our commercial interest; a humane attention to the circumstances of even the lowest ranks of the community; and a truly wise, polite, and tolerant spirit in supporting the christian religion, but giving all reasonable indulgence to those who differed from some *peculiar* doctrines; and it is our duty on this occasion to express our most marked abhorrence of the base arts which have been employed without regard to truth and reason, to misrepresent his eminent services to his country.

But the virtues of Mr. Jefferson shone most conspicuously in private life. "In general, his manners were those of a plain Virginian gentleman,

conciliating, open, candid, and free, neither chilling by his reserve, nor fatiguing by his loquacity, but adapting himself, without an effort, to the character of his company." It may be truly said of him, "that the tomahawk and scolding knife were no part of his colloquial apparatus." The benignity of his spirit, would not have borne such a sight without torture. His conversation was instructive and delightful; stately where it should be so, but in general, easy, familiar, sprightly and entertaining; always, however, good humoured, and calculated to amuse without wounding.

Of those who lead a life so eminently virtuous and useful, as what Mr. Jefferson has uniformly done, when their breath departs, the idea long remains behind them, in the remembrance of the just. "The memory of the just is blessed, but the name of the wicked shall rot." Putrification preys at once upon their bodies, and upon their names. As their relics dissolve into dust, in the chamber of the grave, their remembrance is reduced to ashes, in the bosom of mankind. Those who were not loved while living, are neither lamented, nor missed, when dead. But the good, the excellent, and the virtuous, on the contrary, like the personage before us, when they cease to be, continue to exist in the memory of those, among whom their life was passed.

I have represented the fleeting nature of mortal man; his departure out of the world, and his complete expunction from it, when he has left it. Indeed the scriptures describe him as "fleeing like

a shadow;" an unsubstantial image, that leaves its place, and leaves no proof behind it of its having been there. This is a strictly faithful, a literally honest, and, an unpoetical picture of the majority of mankind. While they are, their being is insignificant to society; and, when they are no more, it is not remembered that they ever were. They leave no impression of their figure upon the station which they quit. There is no stamp of their ever having been there. No mark, no monument of their departed image remains. While they occupy their place, they are merely appearances. The sphere to which they belong is unfilled; the post where they stand is vacancy and emptiness. There is nothing there; there is the apparition of a member of society; but the substance is not there. It is only a shadow that stands before mankind; a phantom, "that appears to the eye, without imparting any influence; a ghost that glides unfelt through the earth, and then vanishes away. Of the majority of mankind, such is the description. Their biographer has only to say of them, that on such a day they were borne, and on a day they died. All that remains to be recorded, in the interval, is, that they received and returned the air of Heaven; they closed and they opened their eyes upon the light of day; they felt and they satisfied the wants of nature or of art; so many suns arose, and went down upon them; so many summers bloomed, and faded before their eyes; so many winters scattered their hoar frost upon their paths, and then their senses were sealed forever. From this total

mortality, which the majority undergo, the instant their bodies are deposited out of the sight of survivors, those, who diligently discharge the duties of life, are favoured with a longer respite. Their generous activity, when their power of acting is over, whether the period of it be long or short, gives a longevity to their image, in the minds of those before whom, or towards whom, their virtues were displayed, proportioned to the degree of their virtues, and to the durability of the benefits they have communicated. Such are not the shadows, that others are; their is substance and body in their being; they are felt as well as seen, by their fellow creatures; they make an impression on the place they occupy in society; their is felicity as well as outline in them; they not only go for men in the vast catalogue of nations; but they are men upon the list of reason, and of Heaven. When such men quit the world, and such was Mr. Jefferson, they make a longer stay and more lasting impression in the minds of the virtuous and the good; their names do not tread upon the heels of their breath; they are long before they follow it. When such men fall, contiguous society shakes around them; the hearts of others sink along with the final failure of theirs; and when the grave covers them from the gaze of gratitude, it cannot close over their loved idea. To this, long life and length of days are added, in affectionate Memory's mental land of fair and cherished shade.

END

## NOTE A—PAGE 31

Notwithstanding it has been almost universally acceded that Mr. Jefferson was the author of the declaration of independence, yet it has been doubted by many, and he has been accused, particularly by his enemies, of assuming to himself the authorship of a composition which does not belong to him. But in order to place the fact beyond all contradiction, the Hon. John Adams who was one of the committee to whom the subject was referred, writes thus to a private gentleman of distinction in this city in regard to this subject." You ask me if Mr. Jefferson was, in truth, the author of the declaration of Independence? I assure you until I read your letter I never knew the fact was doubted. \* \* \* \*  
Mr. J. drew up this instrument himself, and it underwent but very little alteration in the house, I think three or four verbal ones.

## NOTE 2nd PAGE 45

Those who may wish to pursue this subject still further, are referred to Mr. Jeffersons "notes on virginia," where they will find a full and interesting examination of the subject.

## NOTE B—PAGE 48

This was undoubtedly the first draught of an original constitution ever made in this country—The whole of this invaluable instrument is contained in the appendix to his notes, to which we must again refer our readers, to become acquainted with the remaining part of it; and from which we have extracted this preamble.

We are sorry to say that from the hasty manner in which the proof sheets have been read, some few errors have escaped our notice which will be found in the following table.

ERRATA.

Page	14 line	11 for requias read requires	
18	7	—eh	—he
29	14	—designed	—dcigned
30	4	—aud	—and
36	7	—ditached	—detached
38	18	—juatification	—justification
38	22	—uuamimously	—unanimously
39	26	—argmented	—augmented
43	10	—foruteen	—fourteen
81	13	—date	—data
82	2	—of their own, &c.	—at their own
86	14	—impudence	—imprudence
86	19	—proignant	—poignant



1

2

3

4

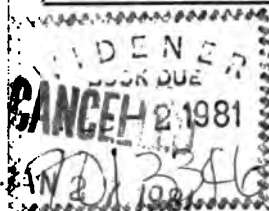




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